4
TOBER 1988

SOVIET WEEKLY
WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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The Third World:
No to dogmas
and stereotypes

Consumer, protect yourself!

Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court Interviewed

NEW PERSPECTIVES

Drawing by Igor Smirnov

NEW TIMES

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BEZYMENSKY,
CHERNYAVSKY,
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GOLYAKOV,
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POGORZHELSKY,
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Spiegel magazine
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mir Petrovsky
IING INTO ITS OWN

S.R.-F.R.G.
a Zholkver
SPIEGEL IN
LOOKING GLASS

On the eve of Helmut Kohl's visit to the U.S.S.R., Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a group of Der Spiegel's staff writers in the Kremlin. *See pp. 5-11.*

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Cover by Victor Brel

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OPINIONS

Ivan Belgovsky
Verkhnedneprovsk, U.S.S.R.

■ I wonder whether anyone has ever stopped to think seriously about what Vladlen Kuznetsov so cautiously spoke of in your issue No. 32 for this year as "incompatible ideologies, but..." Back in 1968, during the events in Czechoslovakia, while arguing with my boy, I heatedly exclaimed: "People are being killed because of ideas, with even sons turning against their fathers." Since then I have been thinking a lot. Indeed, can humanity avoid wars without rejecting the distinction between proletarian and bourgeois interests? It seems to me that nowadays that is irrelevant. What matters are ethics and the culture of the entire human race, and that is what we should proceed from.

We are all children of our small planet, but we may lose it all because we are for some reason convinced that we are different. That is not at all true. We all the same. We all want to live, love and create. In the stands we took we even rejected our old national customs, contending that these were bourgeois survivals. Not at all, they are of the flesh of the people! I'm only too happy to hear once again such neglected words as charity and benevolence. Though I am an atheist, I do believe that God should live on in the human heart. I really can't understand how it happened that we had such communist leaders as Shchyolokov, Rashidov and Kunayev, who had no God in their hearts, in short, no conscience. Because conscience is one and the same for all.

V. Dmitrieva,
CPSU member, pensioner,
Zapolyarny, U.S.S.R.

■ In "What makes a woman happy" (No. 37 for this year) you deal with a basic problem, the women's issue, which is exacerbated not just by our political immaturity as women, but also by the awful tolerance we have for the disrespect constantly shown us everywhere we go. In fact, we don't respect ourselves and, what is still more important, don't even attempt to obtain better working conditions. Indeed, what male occupation can compare with that of a baker or loader, or all the other women's jobs at a mechanical bakery? I had what they call an easy and insignificant job, with the equally insignificant pay of 80 rubles a month. But as I had to pull carts laden with bread that should have been automated, I was obliged to retire early with a host of chronic ailments.

And now we are followed by the next generation, born in better conditions than those before and immediately after the war. Yet I can only pity girls obliged to work in mechanical bakeries and on building sites, as everywhere they have to lug heavy loads and stand in draughts or, on the contrary, in a steamy atmosphere. I continuously wonder what we have achieved and what we are going to hand on to our children. Do you know that to bake four tons of bread a baker must handle as much as 15 tons?

While I was working, I was always amazed at women's tolerance and stamina. But these are qualities they are obliged to have, and as a result of this "gallant" labour we have missed out on our main job of bringing up our children. The only rest we have is when we stand in queues, which enables us to get rid of pins and needles in our legs. I would say that tired and irritated mums are not the sort of people who should be bringing up children.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Isao Ashiba
Tokyo, Japan

■ It is clear today that all disputes between states can be settled peacefully and that we must have conditions when the use of force is completely excluded. I believe that to expedite cooperation between nations it is vital to have an international organization of a new type whose membership would be elected by the people of the world by direct ballot. This organization should undertake to defend all sovereign states and do so solely by peaceful means, and thus create an atmosphere of universal understanding. Naturally, it should not encroach on any other internal functions of these states. This is of course a dream, but perhaps it will one day come true.

Vaclav Benda
Dnesice,
Czechoslovakia

■ In your issue No. 33 for this year you carried a letter from Ivan Crane of Australia. In it he wrote that "with the launching of perestroika and glasnost in your country many...articles... have become very critical of your past..." He goes on to add "imperialism will always try to destroy your country, if not from without then from within." I totally disagree. For what is dangerous for you in the Soviet Union is not the truth, but the silencing of truth! What is dangerous is not the imperialist threat from other countries, but the ambitions of certain segments in your own country.

I think that the basic yardstick for assessing an article is not how critical it is, but how truthful it is. Should anyone think an article very critical only because it is truthful, he or she will be absolutely wrong. What is dangerous for glasnost and perestroika is what is hidden and stifled. I personally advocate the complete truth!

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

A. Tretyakov,
CPSU member,
Novosibirsk, U.S.S.R.

■ In a letter in issue No. 39 for this year V. Pochepko speaks of the political reinstatement of Roy Medvedev. I have a question in this connection. Medvedev was expelled from Communist Party membership by people of the stagnation period who declared that the Party had a new line on Stalin. If that was really so, why don't we ask the people who said that how they could have dared to do so. I suppose that many, though no longer in office today, are still Communist Party members and honourable pensioners. Only by examining each concrete instance of injustice and calling the people named to account can we punish those who were to blame for the stagnation period.

M. Helaseppä
Helsinki, Finland.

■ It was with a great deal of interest that I've read an excerpt from G. Bocharov's story "Back from the dark" (No. 35/88). What I liked about it most of all was its truthfulness. I read only a few of the newspapers and magazines published in the U.S.S.R., of course, but it's the first time such a frank personal account

GLASNOST

the Afghanistan tragedy
s come my way. It is only
w that I've got a real no-
n of the situation in that
untry, appreciated the
urage of freedom fighters
d realized how fanatical
ir enemies are. Now I see
w dangerous a war cor-
spondent's job is. From
s documentary account
e can glean much more
ormation than from many
the so-called analytical ar-
es about Afghanistan full
generalities which only
scure the real picture.
ch articles seldom men-
the particulars which
charov's story abounds in
which give one an in-
ht into what's actually
pening in that country. I
e now fully realized the
cial importance of the
iet government's decision
withdraw Soviet troops
Afghanistan and to
g them back home. Be-
s, it was interesting to
about the relationships
ween a Soviet journalist
his superiors – I had
er read anything about
before. My overall con-
ion is that in your case
the truth is not so easy
reveal, and that it takes
at courage to do so.

J. Coen
Brussels, Belgium

■ Until rather recently I have been an interested reader of New Times. And then everything changed... In our country all the New Times subscribers know that you are not to be expected to keep us up to date with the latest developments: typically, an issue reporting on preparations for a meeting or a conference reaches us long after the event in question is over and has been covered and commented upon by Western radio stations in detail. There's something wrong here... In a word, you had better shift from on-the-spot reporting to profound analyses of political events. So much for the "time factor." Now I'd like to discuss the content of your magazine.

Previously I used to buy New Times in order to broaden the scope of my vision of things. But in this respect, too, New Times is no longer what it used to be: now it gives most of its space to home policy matters. We realize full well that you are proud (and justly so) of your glasnost and perestroika. But you are literally getting us snowed under with this kind of information, and we are losing interest as a result. True, we were fed a story about China for five weeks at a stretch... It made interesting reading at first, but by the fourth week I caught myself feeling afraid to open the magazine lest I should see another China instalment there... Or Afghanistan. Hardly an issue comes out without an article about that country in it. Unfortunately, most of what these articles offer is nothing new. Many people I know refer to them as an "Afghan serial." But is that the hub of the Universe? The same is true of your other "serials." Is this really the best way to attract readers' attention? Hardly so...

All this, I'm sure, is due to the lack of contacts between you and your Western readers. I discussed this with many colleagues of mine, and we agreed that while seemingly wishing to get us interested, you don't quite know what we may be interested in. On the other hand, there are many things in your life which we want to know more about, and you just mention them in passing from time to time. The U.S.S.R. is an enormous country. For a man in the street here, Russia means "a lot of snow." People do not know, for instance, that your country consists of regions totally unlike one another; we do not know whether you can spend your vacations in any place of your choice, whether you can change apartments, whether Western newspapers and magazines are available from your newsstands, etc. Instead of enlightening us on all that, you are telling us, for the umpteenth time, what so-and-so thinks about perestroika, what he would like to have, what he hopes for... In a word, your new "domestic line" is not to my liking.

J.Sen
Delhi, India

■ I have read a lot about the new wave of religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. as a sequel to glasnost, vis-à-vis its impact on a country like India, steeped in age-old superstition.

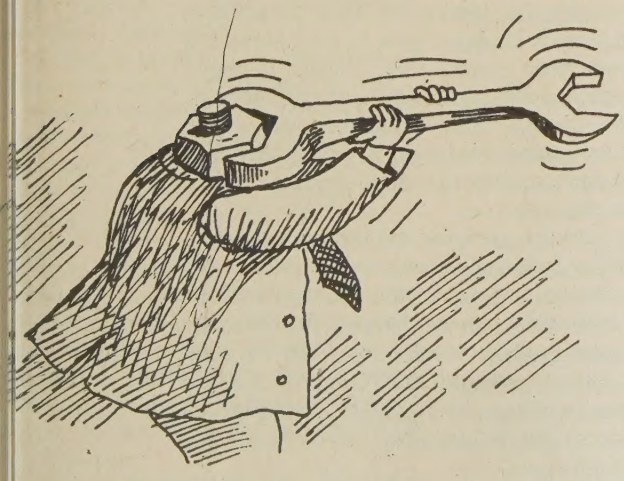
GLASNOST

The recently celebrated millennium of baptism in Russia, as well as the audience given by your General Secretary Gorbachev to the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen and members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church have got wide publicity in this country.

There is a cynical glee among the powerful but reactionary elements in this country at this turn of events. All this is being utilized to beat down those locals who fight against superstition and obscurantism.

Might be in the Soviet Union where revolution took place seventy years ago and socialism has taken deep roots, the policy of providing religious freedoms is more justified. But in a country like India where religion is used by the powerful to beat the poor one has to be on one's guard. Here, institutional religious practices, full of prejudices and superstition, tend to drive the masses down the abyss rather than pulling them out of darkness, to light and knowledge. I think that when publishing articles on religious subjects you ought to take all these factors into account and make allowances for them.

ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

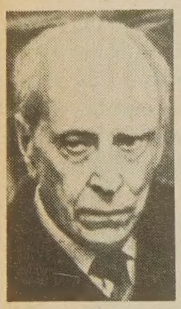
PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

Academician ARMEN TAKHTADJAN

Bills on amendments and additions to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and on elections of People's Deputies have been submitted for nationwide discussion. Obviously the very fact of these documents being discussed, as well as the amendments and additions to the Fundamental Law suggested, testify to radical changes in our society and to the democratization of the election system. The free nomination of candidates for deputies, their free election and discussion are the prime and indispensable conditions of any civilized nation's viability. We now stand on the threshold of a truly law-governed state. Creating such a state is a complex process that calls for discarding dogmatic notions of socialism, authoritarian thinking and many prejudices and preconceived notions that have taken deep root in our society.

It is hard for a bureaucrat to accept the axiom that in a civilized state power should be controlled by the law at all levels. In the absence of tight and uncompromising legal supervision, a state easily degenerates into a tyranny. That was what happened in our own history when arbitrary rule and despotism destroyed the cream of the nation. One of the victims was Academician Nikolai Vavilov, whom many years ago I had the privilege of learning from and working with.



Academician DMITRY LIKHACHEV

We have witnessed an event gratifying to millions of our fellow citizens and testifying to the strength of public opinion in our country, to the steady advance of the processes of democratization in Soviet society. I mean the lifting of all restrictions on the availability of national periodicals for subscription.

There can be no real glasnost without every citizen being free to subscribe to any periodical unrestricted. We had to uphold this right by an all-out effort, and finally the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers pronounced its verdict at its recent session.

Every periodical is important and much needed today because it contributes, in its own way, to the transformation of the country. New Times magazine ranks prominently among our periodicals – I am saying this as one of its devoted readers.

YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO, poet

The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of August 14, 1946 On the Magazines Zvezda and Leningrad turned two gifted writers, Anna Akhmatova and Mikhail Zoshchenko, into non-persons. The instructive record of history shows that you can annul any resolution, but not a talented writer. Zhdanov will be punished according to his deserts: his name will only appear in small print in commentaries on works by Akhmatova and Zoshchenko. May the decision of the highest Party leadership repealing the August 14 resolution be a lesson to all those who would like to silence glasnost.

At a recent meeting, one Soviet man of letters, still standing on the Zhdanov position, publicly implored the government to pass a new resolution on literature, couched in no uncertain terms. Well, now he's got it.

WILLEM van ELKELEN, ex-Minister of Defence, the Netherlands

The fourth Soviet-Netherlands meeting on problems of European security has ended in Moscow. My colleagues and I were amazed by the cordial welcome we were accorded in the Taman Division of the Guards and by the frankness that marked our conversations with Soviet officers and men. Incidentally, we even did without an interpreter, as many servicemen knew English and German quite well. The standard of manpower training and of combat equipment made a favourable impression on us.

True, our brief visit to a Soviet army unit gave us no chance to judge the way in which the Warsaw Treaty's defensive doctrine is being implemented. I'd like to stress that it is not enough to proclaim a defensive doctrine; it should be followed up by concrete moves such as changes in the structure of the armed forces, in their deployment and armament.

During the meeting, the Soviet participants said such changes were to be a subject of East-West negotiations. I think unilateral moves would be no less important. After all, the Warsaw Treaty countries' arsenals in conventional weapons, which remain fairly sizeable, cannot but cause concern in Western Europe.

I do not consider the disbanding of the military-political alliances the top priority. The existence of blocs is not a source of tension. I think it is much more important now to establish parity in conventional weapons, common arms ceilings for NATO and WTO, and to reduce military confrontation. It goes without saying that the side which has more will have to cut more.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S

INTERVIEW FOR DER SPIEGEL MAGAZINE (F.R.G.)

On October 19 Mikhail Gorbachev met representatives of Der Spiegel magazine, including its publisher, Rudolf Augstein, at the CPSU Central Committee. On October 24 the magazine published the conversation and Mikhail Gorbachev's answers to the questions sent by the editorial board of the magazine.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Mikhail Gorbachev: To begin with, I'd like to welcome you here as representatives of a noted magazine which, it seems to me, is regarded in the F.R.G. and all over the world as a serious publication. This does not mean, however, that I agree with everything that you write. I do not know whether you yourselves agree with everything that you write. That is another question... (Animation).

Rudolf Augstein: My colleagues do not always agree with my point of view.

Mikhail Gorbachev: But this is considered normal in your country. Yet when we have a debate it is presented in the West as a political fight, as a split in the Soviet leadership. So, the criteria are different – a battle of ideas in your country, while in our country...

Rudolf Augstein: This is not exactly so. A lot has changed. If one reads every day what the press of the F.R.G. writes about the Soviet Union, one can notice the great changes that have taken place. They do exist and are recognized by everybody.

Mikhail Gorbachev: And why is that so? Let me interview you now. I want to have a conversation.

Rudolf Augstein: I think one of the causes lies in the fact that one now sees so many films and reads so many books, which one could not see and read before. We witness public debates and clashes of views, specifically on Soviet television. This is an unprecedented situation. So I would say that the transformation, changes in the infrastructure have reached the point of no return. No Soviet citizen is afraid, say, of expressing on TV an opinion different from yours. Your country is now presenting a new image to us – an image which we considered to be impossible five years ago.

Mikhail Gorbachev: That is an interesting observation.

Rudolf Augstein: It began from above and I think that this process will deepen, all the way to the grassroots. This will make the current process more complex.

Mikhail Gorbachev: In the written answers to some of your questions I tried to give our assessment of our own policy, the policy of perestroika. It is always difficult to speak about oneself, but nonetheless we must do it. We have put the mechanisms of glasnost and democracy into operation in order to make it easier to discuss the questions of policy and the activity of the Party and the government. What is sometimes difficult for us, the leaders, to do is done successfully by our very highly educated people.

Of course, our country is changing. Since this concerns all major spheres of our society's life – the economic sphere (property relations), the political sphere (a political reform) and the entire spiritual sphere, culture – this is a deep-going process.

All things considered, particularly the aims we have set ourselves, we are probably just at the beginning of the road. And we ourselves see that there is still a long way to our ultimate goals, to the carrying out of profound changes, and that there are also intermediate objectives. The press in the West points to many things relating to perestroika and voices its appraisals. There are publications which have already drawn the conclusion that perestroika is doomed, and that the current leadership will also be doomed

in the face of the serious difficulties in the way to their declared aims. Such pronouncements do exist. But we want ourselves and our policy to be understood correctly not only inside our country but also abroad, not only by our friends but also, let us put it this way, by our partners. If you say that the image of the Soviet Union is changing in the Federal Republic of Germany and that our perestroika receives a certain projection in your society, this is interesting and, I would say, important.

Rudolf Augstein: We confirm this, since perestroika concerns not only domestic policy but also foreign policy. Every day we feel, we see changes in foreign policy, specifically in relations with the Federal Republic. And if such rapprochement in many areas, which is taking place now, continues in the same way, we can come very close to each other. Evidence of this is the fact that Federal Chancellor Kohl and Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher will visit Moscow next week. It seems to me that you, Mr Gorbachev, once said that the Federal Republic of Germany is the key factor as far as relations between the Soviet Union and the countries and peoples of Central and Western Europe are concerned.

Mikhail Gorbachev: I am glad that the summit visit will take place one of these days. The road to it was long and tortuous. There is no getting away from that fact. We must face the realities. For all that, the visit will take place, both sides are showing tremendous interest in it, serious preparations are underway, and major questions to be discussed during the visit are being thrashed out. All these are indications that the visit may become a major landmark in the relations between our two countries. That's one thing.

Traditions, the lessons of history, past lessons and the realities of today are leading us, and I think Bonn also understands this, to regard the relations between our two countries as something on which many things hinge in Europe and in the world at large. This is no exaggeration. This is how these relations are regarded by others too.

Rudolf Augstein: If we take practical policy with regard to Germany in the future, say, five or ten years from now, do you think the protective anti-fascist wall across Germany will still be needed? Or will détente in Central Europe make this protective wall redundant one fine day?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Let us promote the normalization, improvement of international relations. Let us focus on building a "European home," live in it and then see what happens. I would now pay more attention precisely to this, rather than dream of the premature.

However, I am an optimist. Thanks to its political experience and intellectual and economic potential, Europe could play a role of no small importance at the present crucial stage in mankind's history. I think no one now could play this role better than Europe. It seems to me that the Europeans have realized that they are closely interconnected and should think of how to live on this continent in the future, and cooperate, respecting one another and the choice of every nation, the values that underlie each nation's society and its programmes for the present and future. I think that in general, the prospects are good. It is important that no one should interfere with this process. It is important that all should contribute what they can to this cause. Here, much also depends on our state and government.

You want me to discuss specific questions while I prefer the philosophy of the process, after all I am talking with Germans... However, philosophy for philosophy's sake is not enough. It must produce actual politics and practical moves.

Rudolf Augstein: Hegel said about the Germans: although a very tempestuous process is underway in their heads, it fails to find an outlet. That is why you should not expect any practical proposals or conclusions from the Germans. True, he said this in 1805.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Yes, this was said long ago. I would cite the ancient Greeks, who used to say that you can't step into the same river twice.

Rudolf Augstein: I think Kant too was right in his *Eternal Peace,* which no one appreciated at that time. I think Kant himself did not fully realize the significance of his prediction. He wrote the time would come when all arrived at the self-evident conclusion that war in Europe was unthinkable.

Mikhail Gorbachev: I do not know these words by Kant, but I believe he is right. Particularly in the context of current developments. We should think now about how to live in a real Europe and a real world. However hard this may be, we should explore ways of living together. Should the situation take the opposite direction, this would ruin all of us. Now no one can stand idly by.

Rudolf Augstein: I fully agree with you. And one should work for this end, towards reaching precisely these common goals. There are people in my country, the Federal Republic of Germany, who do not welcome perestroika, saying that the Soviet Union will eventually be too strong. But I want to speak of the confidence for which you, Mr General Secretary, can claim the credit. We cannot ask anything better than a strong Soviet Union, in harmony with its own people,...

Mikhail Gorbachev: And other peoples.

Rudolf Augstein: ...following its own road. Of course, we are all dependent on one another.

Mikhail Gorbachev: It can hardly be otherwise. The time is past and gone when one country or a group of strong and powerful states could impose their own views and policy on the world, at times mercilessly. This does not dismiss the question of distinctions in the policies of states and of the different degree of their responsibility. I said this to Mr Reagan, too.

Rudolf Augstein: Recently, I had talk with Foreign Minister Genscher. In my view, Mr Genscher holds similar views on the things which we are now discussing with you. And, I think, Chancellor Kohl's ideas are no different from these views. I do not think that various remarks made in the past should be put on the apothecary's scale.

Mikhail Gorbachev: But politicians ought to be careful what they say.

Rudolf Augstein: I fully agree with you. But I do not think it would be advisable to have a long memory, for otherwise...

Mikhail Gorbachev: I prefer people with a good memory to those suffering from amnesia. Memory always means history, traditions, and lessons. All this is very serious.

Rudolf Augstein: A good memory is really good when it keeps things that should be remembered.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Memory should lead to the right lessons being learnt from bad things. Bearing a grudge is something different, and I am against it. A good memory is always useful, and I am all for it.

Rudolf Augstein: And you are proving precisely this. Certain things happen owing to folly, not because of someone pursuing unseemly aims.

Mikhail Gorbachev: I am now talking th managers of a major magazine in the deral Republic of Germany and I want convey, through your magazine, to ur readership that our people highly preciate the interest shown by the blic in the Federal Republic in the viet Union, in what takes place in this untry today. And the main thing is, we e, that a host of people sincerely want cooperate, to expand contacts and, aybe, even proceed then towards es-blishing friendship.

Indeed, we have excellent relations th the German Democratic Republic. It ways gives me great peasure, when on visit to that country, to meet working ople of the G.D.R. And Soviet people at with interest and attention the pro-sses taking place in the minds of the neral public in the F.R.G., because se are very important processes.

Our memories take us back to different es. Therefore, the current processes our two countries, the fact that there positive impulses coming from both es, filled with a desire to improve rela-ns and get closer to each other are re-y of utmost importance. This, perhaps, s not yet been fully realized.

Rudolf Augstein: I would like to ad-ess you as General Secretary or as Mr esident – I don't know which title to oose, which of them is more important.

Mikhail Gorbachev: You should make ur own choice of what suits you better. at's your own problem. (General laugh-r.)

Rudolf Augstein: I think they are on a r. We hope that in the spring of next ar you will pay a visit to the Federal Re-blic of Germany and be able to see that nfidence in cooperation between oples, and in its value, has greatly in-eased. We think that this is an impor-nt achievement in itself. You, Mr Gen-al Secretary, know our country well not nly from official visits. It is known to us at while holding the post of Secretary of e Stavropol Territory Party Committee u mixed with crowds of West Germans, d they did not recognize you.

Mikhail Gorbachev: That was an in-resting though difficult, trip. Why? Our rmer ambassador (he turns to Valentin lin sitting next to him), for example, re-embers my arrival as leader of a delega-n. Indeed, the visit coincided with the 0th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. articularly remember one discussion at filling station near Frankfurt-on-Main. While our car was being filled, we bought some souvenirs. The owner of the filling station heard Russian speech.

"You're obviously Russians," he said. "Look, the Germans are divided..."

"But why are you telling me this?" I asked him. "First, this happened as a result of certain events started by the Germans. True, we have never identified fascism with the Germans. Fascist troops were near Moscow, and it was precisely then that words were spoken to the effect that 'Hitlers come and go, while the German people and the German state remain.'"

"Stalin said that the German state would remain, but all the same, it is really divided," my interlocutor went on to say (incidentally, he was born in 1926).

I said in reply to him: "What plan did the Americans have for the defeated Germany, and what was our country's proposal? Who proposed to divide Germany into small parts to prevent the German state from ever being revived? That was not our proposal. We favoured a democratic, anti-fascist Germany."

"Yes, yes, I know this," he said as our discussion of historic facts continued, "but you see what happened, even though there were attempts to create a single state even after the war."

Yes, but there was also "Bizonia," "Trizonia" and the like, I told him. So, for more reasons than one your claims are misaddressed.

During the trip, which gave plenty of food for thought, there were, nevertheless, many wonderful meetings with the most diverse people – not only with Communists but with other democrats, dockers, cultural figures. We visited Stuttgart University. In Nuremberg, we met local people in a very relaxed atmosphere. And I had the feeling that relations between our two countries would improve. This is what is happening today. Well, you have put me in a reminiscent mood.

Rudolf Augstein: Of course we cannot go over all of history right now and discuss all historic facts. I wholly agree with you that the plans of the United States and Britain for the division of Germany had nothing in common with the plans of the U.S.S.R. I would like to ask you one more question. You were 10 years old when Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. You must have some grave memories. Isn't this so?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Yes, of course. The war left a deep scar on all our people; it affected each family. The obvious lesson from this is that everything possible should be done so that such a thing could never happen again. Your Ostpolitik, and corresponding activities on our part, have elevated our relations to a new level. We pay our respects to all those who stood at the source of this new policy. I think the task of the present generation of politicians and our peoples in general should be to continue reaching out towards each other, expanding cooperation, promoting mutual respect, developing contacts and exchanges and eventually establishing friendship between our peoples. This is also the duty of the people alive today to those who died in the war.

Rudolf Augstein: In that case, you honour me for my contribution to the improvement of these relations.

Mikhail Gorbachev: All this is very serious. If anyone decided to try to outwit his partner, to employ dishonest means, it would be dangerous, inadmissible and utterly irresponsible. As I see it, the task of today's politicians is to express the sentiments of our peoples, and improve and expand cooperation. Here there is no contradiction.

Rudolf Augstein: Stalin and Stalinism are also discussed in the Federal Republic of Germany. But the discussions are rather simplified and contradictory. I, for instance, am considered nearly a Stalinist in the Federal Republic. Mr Falin knows this. He and I have talked at length about this. My opinion is that no matter what Stalin did at home, he proved himself a great leader during the confrontation with Germany.

Mikhail Gorbachev: I gave the answer to this in my report on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, basing my judgement on the data I had at my disposal. No new data has become available so far to continue discussing this topic. Investigations into all periods of our history continue, involving our society's all intellectual forces.

We agreed to talk for a few minutes. An hour has passed already, and we could continue talking for several more.

(*Jokingly*): The most important moment has arrived – I am giving you the Russian text. (*Signs the text.*)

Rudolf Augstein: Each General Secretary always allowed me to put the last question.

Mikhail Gorbachev: I am not merely General Secretary. I am also ... (*Laughter.*)

Rudolf Augstein: Then two questions. (*Laughter.*)

Mikhail Gorbachev: Touché.

Rudolf Augstein: Here is one question: Which team currently leads in the Soviet ice hockey championship?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Well, I like the game for the spirit and the excitement of it.

Rudolf Augstein: Have you ever played hockey?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Never. I lived in the south. When ice hockey appeared, I lost interest in all the other games. But today, I haven't the slightest idea what's happening in ice hockey.

Rudolf Augstein: Then I would help you with another question. Tell me: do you go to the theatre?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Oh, yes, quite regularly.

Rudolf Augstein: What is your favourite theatre?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I go to different theatres. I am aware of our theatrical achievements. We have a very interesting theatre. Not all is equally significant, and standards vary. There are some rather weak plays. But I believe our theatre will change and it will have its say. I think that perestroika is the most interesting theatre for us today, and I talk about this when meeting with actors and directors. This is the true drama, with the clash of characters, the sharp struggle between the old and the new, and radical shifts in mentality. This is what should be written about. Nothing is more inspiring than the drama of real life.

Rudolf Augstein: I don't think there is another country in the world where the theatre is as vigorous and influential as in the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev: This is true of our culture in general. The movement for cultural renewal is an appreciable force of perestroika. But then, things are not simple in this sphere, either.

The participants in the conversation say good-bye to each other. Augstein thanks Gorbachev for the conversation. Present were: Valentin Falin, Werner Funk, Dieter Wild, Fritjof Meyer and Jörg Mettke. There follows the full text of Gorbachev's answers to the questions submitted by the editorial board in advance:

Question: How has perestroika been going, what has already been achieved?

Answer: The main achievement has been a new spiritual and moral state of society. The people have awakened because we have pushed the interests of man into the spotlight of all public life.

What did it all start with? We decided to make an impartial and critical political and socio-economic analysis of the society in which we live. That led us to the conclusion that society had to be fundamentally reorganized, in all spheres.

We saw that while much has been done and achieved, a lot has been missed and not all of the people's expectations have been met.

Slips, blunders and deformities occurred as we proceeded along our socialist path. To overcome them, it is essential to rise to a new level of democratization, openness and glasnost and keep moving along that path. Our slogan is more socialism. It is imperative to bring out its potential fully through democratization, by extending it.

We have adopted this principle as the starting point in the economy as well, and decided to democratize it through introducing new, economic management methods and reinstating man in production as the one in control, in part by giving worker collectives the right to elect their managers themselves. And, of course, everyone should live as his work warrants, there should be a balance between rights and responsibilities.

And we've realized also that thoroughgoing changes cannot be won without reorganizing the political process. So we've begun an overhaul of the political system. Its primary objective is to get the better of the command-and-administer system rooted in the Stalin years and the period of stagnation. Many have found themselves off the mainstream of the political process.

A certain way of life, a certain mentality have formed. Since people weren't getting what they would have been entitled to had production and society been developing normally, a second, "shadow" economy began to flourish. This, too, has led to adverse psychological and moral consequences. This is why another important aspect of perestroika is moral recovery.

We have many difficulties and we don't know the half of it. But we do know the main thing, namely, that we've made the right choice. Nobody can suggest any other alternative. The criticisms that have sounded in the course of perestroika have been directed at improving the effort and identifying its weaknesses. And this is normal. Policy is, of course, a living process. When making contact with life, it should be corrected and enriched. The main thing, however, is that the people have accepted perestroika. And it is they that are protecting it now. The democratic process and openness have actuated new mechanisms of control and are forging guarantees for perestroika.

It has been faring well in some cases, but not so well in others, going fast in some areas, slowly in others. But perestroika will go on, it will succeed, although we're in for some hard years, especially the next two, three or four years. It is a multifaceted and contradictory, yet fundamental process – not cosmetic repairs or a facelift, but a thorough overhaul of the house we live in.

It certainly hasn't been easy to find political solutions that would match reality. But we have nonetheless found them. And they have brought a positive response from broad public circles, from the whole of our society. It is now not just a policy, but a practical effort being joined by all. It now affects everyone. And this complicates movement as people have got used to certain standards, not only in their minds, but also, for instance, in access to material benefits which did not always correspond to their merits or work inputs. Perestroika is putting all that right.

There has been much clamouring both here and especially abroad that perestroika is being held back by bureaucrats. This is so, but not quite so. It is being held back most of all by conservatism, which is to be found at every level. Take, for instance, leaseholding in agriculture. It would seem that people would be eager to lease land and show what they can do since they've been waiting for this time for so long. Or take cost-accounting in industry. It was wanted by many. However, now that all the gates have been opened, they are in no hurry to get there. This is because they will then also have to make commitments, it just can't be otherwise: rights always go together with responsibilities and duties.

Considering the fact that perestroika will take a good deal of time and that the intermediary goals of renewal will be updated, as a rule, to make them more ambitious, let's not hasten with drawing up the balance sheet. We are gladdened by the main thing – that things in the country have begun to hum and that this flurry of acitivity has a constructive purpose.

Returning to your question about the results, I can tell you that if we take foreign policy, we can see that there has

been headway there although the goals set are still far off.

When, at the start of perestroika, we took an unprejudiced look at the world around us, what we saw was a strange situation. The world had changed, there had emerged new realities, but state-to-state relations continued to be based on the same principles as they were right after the war, during the cold war. The same stereotypes remained. So we have found a need for perestroika there as well, although we use another notion – the new thinking – when we speak of international relations.

Another thing. We believe peaceful coexistence should be seen in the context of today's realities, namely, the principle of free choice. We may be different, but we are part of the same civilization, which is perhaps the only one in the Universe. This world may be a contradictory and complex organism, but everything in it is bound by the same lot. The differences are conditions and a motive force for exchanges, comparisons and competition, rather than a reason for military confrontation.

I'm an optimist and hope to see the year 2000 arrive in a nuclear-free world or at least in a world which has got down to abolishing nuclear weapons in earnest. I believe that the INF Treaty is not destined to be the lone swallow that doesn't make a summer. Humanity cannot, must not get stuck on approaches to common sense.

Question: On the way to a socialist law-based state, what is the significance of legal reforms to long-term guarantees for perestroika?

Answer: It is crucial. We are fully determined, with the support of the people, to rule out once and for all the very possibility of power being usurped and abused and to guarantee reliably the citizen's constitutional rights and liberties. And we shall amend and update the Constitution itself as well.

It is vital to observe a number of indispensable conditions guaranteeing the status of a socialist law-based state. One of them – and history has given us more than one lesson on this score – is that power must be put in the same hands for only a limited period of time, for a term limited by law. Another one is that the possibility of power coming into the hands of unworthy people must be reduced to a minimum or, if possible, ruled out altogether. This is, of course, easier said than done. But we shall have to do this without fail, in particular, through elections of the best among many candidates and through the constant accountability of elected officials to the voters all the time, including in the period between the elections. It goes without saying that we must ensure the equality of all before the law and the equal application of the law to all.

Another condition is that we must prevent excessive power being concentrated in the hands of a small group of people. We have started dividing responsibility up strictly and consistently between the Party and legislative, executive and judicial authorities. Each of these will undergo internal upgrading so as to meet the new requirements of democratization. We call it a reform of the political system, although it could be described as a legal revolution.

We have begun updating the criminal and civil codes and other laws whose pivotal principle should be the unconditional right of citizens to personal immunity and protection of their dignity, their property and their homes. The freedom of conscience is actually being ensured.

In short, we are proceeding from the premise that if there is no legality, there will be no government by the people either. The process that we have started is complex, difficult and painful in some aspects. The new system won't be created overnight. It is, after all, people themselves that make laws and people themselves that break laws and stoop to lawlessness.

Question: Are there any limits to glasnost?

Answer: There certainly are. They are fixed by laws and common sense. There are limits set by moral standards and, of course, by the interests of our system's stability and of our socialist choice. Finally, we have certain traditions connected with both the remote past and the Soviet past, with national psychology and with the Soviet way of thinking, the Soviet criteria of good and evil. We integrate these criteria into universally shared notions, but shades of meaning are still inevitable.

We do not see the level of glasnost reached today as the final destination or even as a flag stop. I believe that as we "learn" democracy and develop political culture, glasnost will acquire many new tinges and accents. And this is good.

However abrupt the changeover from former rigidity and monotony to the socialist pluralism of opinions might seem, the Party is not going to backpedal. Without glasnost there can be no democratization and without democratization there will be no perestroika – the revolutionary renewal of our society and our system we are after.

We have firmly taken the line of eliminating zones closed to criticism and "oases" of double standards and lawlessness, as well as bridging the gap between word and deed. A bill on the press is in the works and other laws will be adopted as well, which will really broaden the access of all Soviet people to information from original sources. We are aware, however, that it is not enough to make fair laws. It is essential to make sure that they are observed and to learn to use rights and blend them with the duties.

Question: Is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union seeking to change its role in the state and society?

Answer: Perestroika is underway in the Party itself and in its affairs as well. It so happens that the Party has taken over many economic, managerial and even administrative matters, but has not been able to find time for all of them, while state agencies, for their part, have forgotten how to go about doing their jobs. The Party is already changing both its role and its methods of work in keeping with the mandate of its 27th Congress and its 19th national conference.

We are beginning the political reform with fundamental change in the Party itself. It should undergo renewal, restore the original purity of its noble aspirations and prove its right to be the political leader of society by every word and every action. I repeat, laws must be made by our parliament, executive authority must be exercised by the government and justice administered by the courts.

Everything won't fall in place at once. In some areas the new will have trouble edging out the old. Anything can happen in a big undertaking. But nobody can stop the river of time. We have mustered the courage to dive into its stormy waters because we know what we'll see on the other bank. We shall reach it.

Question: What are the reasons for the supply crisis? What ways do you see to overcome it? What can be done by the West? Would the U.S.S.R. reject a new version of the Marshall Plan?

Answer: Your questions reflect an

overly gloomy view of the state of affairs in this country. We do have quite a few supply problems and we do put blunt emphasis on them, but there's no feeling of doom. We know how to put things right and have the possibilities of doing so. Karl Marx wrote that society can perish if it stops working... So the main thing is to work well, in a new manner. But we must change many things to achieve this end. And this is what we're doing.

In an atmosphere typical of a revolutionary period, while we were getting rid of the legacy of the tsarist, landowner and capitalist past, and fighting for freedom, equality and brotherhood, we carried out drastic social changes. In our society, the individual is strongly protected socially. But this is only one aspect of the matter. The other is that the command-and-administer system and the ensuing underestimation of the material and moral incentives to work have resulted in the accumulation, over the years, of negative phenomena in society, including passivity, wage-levelling, social parasitism and the day labourer mentality. It is now necessary to resolutely overcome these phenomena everywhere. This can be achieved through leasing means of produciton, through cost-accounting. Through cooperation. Through the integration of the individual's and the society's interests which form a dialectical unity. In other words, through broadening the concept of socialist ownership, of its potentialities and methods of using it. Naturally, we link advancement to new economic levels with the introduction of new technologies. We are sharply changing our priorities and our structural policy.

Undeniable priority is given to the producton of food and consumer goods, to the social sphere, above all housing construction, and to the radical improvement of health services and education.

Now about relations with the West. This is not the first time we have heard about the "Marshall Plan" for the U.S.S.R. This is, as I understand it, more of an image and in some respect a recurrence of arrogance: it is claimed that without the capitalist engine, it will be impossible to pull the Soviet economic train. To make a long story short, I will say the following: we are sure that we will resolve our problems on our own, but we are prepared to use the opportunities offered by external relations to the full. We are not expecting "aid". The point at issue is having identical interests. Both you and we have a stake in alleviating the burden of military spending. Both you and we are interested in developing economic, scientific and technological ties.

I think that the West will gradually realize that dividing the world economy, trade, credit relations and technology ideologicaly, just as the arms race, multiplies both our problems and yours. It is necessary to resolutely change approaches – all sides will benefit from that. And it is of secondary importance what specific forms our future cooperation takes.

Question: a) Trade between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. decreased by half over the past five years. What must be done to boost trade? What goods is the U.S.S.R. going to offer on the world market in the future? b) What complicates the establishment of joint ventures today? c) How might relations with the EEC develop after 1992?

Answer: Indeed, our trade with the majority of countries is not in the best of shape. This is punishment for our own blunders and failings, as well as for the consumerism of many foreign partners who wanted to have the U.S.S.R. buy their commodities, but with the money earned from the sale of energy and raw materials alone.

Both sides have been taught their lesson. Much depends now on how diligent we turn out to be as pupils.

The Soviet side has found it necessary to radically alter its foreign economic set-up. Enterprises, institutions and cooperators enter the world market independently. From now on they will have no one to put the blame on for failures. Perhaps you regret that you no longer do business with your partners from the former Foreign Trade Ministry, who were putting on airs at state expense and at times concluded deals that were not very beneficial or farsighted.

We intend to improve our export by offering high-tech products and know-how. We will continue selling raw materials, but not as carefree merchants, and not in bulk, but with discretion. And, most importantly, not just raw materials.

Well, business is a serious matter, it is always a venture. I will mention only that the daring ones will not lose in the final count. Not those of them who come to our country to skim off the cream, but those who are serious about trade with the U.S.S.R., who see it as a long-term and promising undertaking.

There are many obstacles on the Western side: artificial restrictions on credits and the sale of technology, which are hypocritically justified by the Soviet "military threat"; numerous customs barriers and protectionism.

You ask about our attitude to the "integrated market" after 1992. It will be adequate to the EEC's attitude to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and to us, the Soviet Union, to the EEC's stance on all-European projects and the community's approach to improving the world situation. If you interpret my considerations as an invitation to dialogue, that will be correct.

Question: How do you view the problem of cutting conventional arms in Europe?

Answer: It has been a long time since our allies and us advanced proposals which envisage substantial and equal reductions of these weapons and, ultimately, the dismantling of the material possibility of aggression and, consequently, the elimination of fear and all the different myths about a Soviet military threat. These proposals have been published and distributed officially. They have been explained, commented upon and, I should stress, elaborated on in many speeches and statements I have made. All that is accessible to anyone.

Now we have entered a stage that requires a concerted effort to make specific decisions. It is, therefore, natural to examine the situation at the Vienna meeting. It is as follows.

Twenty-three Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries are completing the elaboration of the mandate for negotiations on the armed forces and conventional arms. They have agreed upon the preamble, objectives of the negotiations, issues of verification and information and the composition of the participating delegations. Progress is being made towards agreement on formulating the subject of the talks.

This progress is a result of the businesslike approach shown by both sides. We made concessions on some points, and we won concessions on other points – all on an equal basis. We regard this as a sign of the times, too.

There are some issues that have not been agreed upon so far. But they are less important than those on which agreement has already been reached.

As far as I can judge, the majority of the participants hope, and justifiably so, that the talks will begin this very year. We are resolutely in favour of that.

How do we view the negotiating process?

It would be logical to follow this sequence:

– taking stock of everything that each side has;

– eliminating the imbalance;

– equally reducing the arms and armed forces down to the lowest levels possible under the circumstances.

This is a theoretical look at the situation.

Now we have vast experience in negotiating. One cannot expect that everything will go smoothly, all the more so as the problems are indeed complex, even from the technical point of view. Besides, there are more than two partners in the talks now. And there is always the danger of their pace trailing behind the dynamics of the times, behind the available opportunities and the imperatives as seen by the peoples and suggested by common sense.

That is why we put forward the idea of a "European Reykjavik," that is, a meeting of the top representatives of the nations, including, of course, the United States and Canada, to give a powerful political impetus to the negotiating process.

We also favour the involvement of broad social and political forces in the process of eliminating military confrontation in Europe. We and a number of political figures in Western and Eastern Europe conceived the idea of holding a round-table discussion. Representatives of political parties of all ideological hues would gather together in a European capital to debate freely all aspects of the European process, including, of course, problems of reducing arms and demilitarizing the continent in general.

In brief, we are very much in favour of a process similar to nuclear disarmament, which had the INF Treaty as its first fundamental step, unfolding at the same time in the sphere of conventional arms, above all, in Europe. This is prompted by the demographic, industrial and ecological features of our continent, its political level and vital needs, its place in the destiny of civilization, moral responsibility to the peoples inhabiting it and to all mankind. Both West and East will equally gain from that process.

Question: There is a debate on the political consequences of a possible withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe. What is your stand?

Answer: We are for the solution of this issue, and we have announced that officially and publicly.

Regrettably, even Europe has not reached a level of mutual trust among its states where it is possible to resolve such questions without taking account of the overall situation and above all without linkage to the process of disarmament, in this case the negotiations mentioned in my previous reply.

It is within this framework that we are prepared to consider on a reciprocal basis the issue of our troops on the territory of our allies, naturally, in agreement with them and relying on their opinion.

Question: Does the German question still remain open?

Answer: I have dwelt on this in public and at meetings with statesmen from the Federal Republic of Germany. I can only reaffirm what I have said on this earlier.

At the same time, I want to emphasize with complete certainty that there can be no doubt that the destiny of the Germans is inseparably linked with the destiny of all of Europe, with its progress in conditions of full security for each and every one, that is with prospects for building a European home. Any attempts to erode the borders between the sovereign German states, all the more so forcible experiments in this field, are unacceptable and even catastrophic. There should be complete clarity on such issues.

Question: Will the all-European home have an open door in Berlin?

Answer: Without it, the architectural design of the home would not look integral.

Question: What are the historic prospects for German-Soviet relations?

Answer: You mean our relations with the F.R.G.? I would say that these prospects wholly depend on both of us. They will be such and only such as we make them today, together. We, and no one else, are making them. And I hope that we are being guided by a sense of responsibility stemming from the indisputable fact that two such nations as the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. largely determine the weather all over Europe and even more.

You live as you like, and we will live as we like. Let us establish mutually beneficial cooperation wherever there are the necessary material and human wherewithal for that. Let us try and look upon each other not as two former enemies or two potential adversaries, but as partners and potential friends. For us in Moscow, this does not seem unrealistic or utopian.

Question: If perestroika succeeds, the Soviet Union will become an example for many other nations. In that case, won't reactionary forces in the United States try and hamper this development?

Answer: The emotions and intentions of reactionary forces in the United States are a reality that cannot be disregarded. But the past few years have shown that these forces are not omnipotent.

Herein lies an important feature of our times. Of course those whom you have described as reactionary forces in the United States (by the way, they have followers in other countries, including the F.R.G.,) do not want changes. But changes are demanded by the strategic, political and economic realities of our times. The strength of the new political thinking, in my view, is precisely in its reliance on these realities. It stipulates: do unto others as you would have for others to do unto you. When everybody realizes that, the world will dramatically change for the better.

Question: In the light of the priority of universal human interests over class interests, won't the point at issue be exoneration of social democracy? How do you regard the possibility and advisability of special relations with the Social Democratic Party of Germany?

Answer: Ideological differences between communists and social democrats are very real, as are the important positive changes that have been taking place in relations between them of late. Overcoming the past means learning its lessons.

And also, the idea of the priority of universal human interests was first formulated by the founders of the communist and social democratic movement, Marx and Engels of Germany. It was none other than the Russian social democrat Lenin who defended it in debates with sectarians. And it was Lenin who authored the historic *DECREE ON PEACE* on the second day of our revolution. Lenin's plan for complete disarmament under strict international control advanced at the Genoa Conference in 1922 was in the mainstream of the ideas of universal human values determining the destiny of civilization borne out by the terrible experience of the first world war.

These are the first elements of the socialist ideal entered into the chronicle of world politics. At the present-day stage, we try to endorse this approach in international relations by word and by deed, with due account for new realities.

As to "special relations" with the West German social democrats, I am not sure that the term "special" is apt. It would add a tinge of discrimination to relations with others. I would prefer to speak about "businesslike, considerate and interested relations" presupposing among other things an open and creative exchange of views, discussions between two major parties representing two important independent political trends in today's world.

(Pravda, October 24.)

Coming into its own

Every year a week of action for disarmament begins on October 24 – United Nations Day

Deputy Foreign Minister **VLADIMIR PETROVSKY** discusses the United Nations' role in maintaining peace and security and in tackling other urgent world issues

At the 42nd session of the General Assembly last year delegates merely expressed hopes for an improvement in the international situation. At the current 43rd session they are expressing confidence that better times are awaiting the world community. As U.N. Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar said, we can now talk with good reason about the renaissance of the organization.

Indeed, the days when the United Nations was used as a forum for propaganda battles are receding into the past. Today it is increasingly becoming a forum for businesslike and democratic discussion free of confrontation. A new style, a new culture of dialogue and relations between U.N. member states is being established.

This process of renewal has become possible thanks to the fruitful development of the Soviet-American dialogue, the constructive nature of the initiatives put forward by the non-aligned movement and the Delhi Six, which represent five continents, and the will and maturity of all members of the international community.

The Soviet Union's desire to consolidate the positive changes and make them a standard in international life, provide a secure and reliable future for mankind and enhance the United Nations' prestige, is reflected in the large-scale initiative for a comprehensive system of international peace and security which has been advanced by the Soviet Union jointly with other socialist countries.

Together with nuclear disarmament, a reduction in conventional armaments is also becoming essential for ensuring military security. In multilateral diplomacy, the Geneva talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons have entered the final stage. Today, as never before, the United Nations and each of its members should vigorously support the efforts of the Geneva Conference.

The process of renewal is also taking place in the political sphere of ensuring security. Thanks mainly to the United Nations, the peaceful settlement of several regional conflicts has been initiated and steps have been taken to find ways of defusing other regional conflicts. Problems still exist, but progress towards an improvement of the situation in the zones of tension is also evident. There is a growing belief that the diplomatic process can lead to a political settlement, with the interests of all parties taken into account and with respect for each nation's freedom of choice.

The United Nations is beginning to pay more attention to the settlement of other global problems. The most important of these are environment protection and the building of a new international economic order. The new ecological and economic thinking calls for immediate practical action.

The United Nations also has a major part to play in the expansion of the dialogue on humanitarian issues, especially in view of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to be observed on December 10. It is again gaining strength and becoming a component part and a powerful accelerator of world renewal. The organization is acquiring a greater role and greater effectiveness as a centre for coordinating actions by states. The primacy of law is being firmly established in interstate relations.

The process of renewal is proceeding with difficulty because the force of political inertia still makes itself felt. Considering the reasons that prevented the United Nations demonstrating its potential in full measure, we do not decline our responsibility either. Under the influence of confrontation, we often ideologized international problems and treated U.N. decisions and our financial obligations selectively. Realistically appraising our own behavior in the United Nations, we do not want, however, to have a monopoly on self-criticism. Our partners should also say something. But, on the whole, the United Nations has stood the test of time.

A discussion of the role of the United Nations and the changes it may undergo in the process of the renewal of international relations has recently been in progress both abroad and in the U.S.S.R. Some believe that the U.N. will become a sort of "world government" or "international parliament." Others regard it as a "debating society" that expresses good wishes for the world community. I think that yardsticks drawn from traditional political theories cannot be applied to such a qualitatively new phenomenon as the United Nations today. The U.N. is not a "world government," "parliament" or "debating society."

The objective process of the internationalization of all aspects of life increasingly requires that certain national rights be transferred to the U.N. in the common interests of mankind. This should not be regarded as an infringement on the prestige or national pride of any country, as the process is developing on the basis of the sovereign equality of states.

It is still difficult clearly to imagine all the forms of U.N. activity in the process of building a comprehensive security system and its functioning. But one thing is clear: the United Nations must become a centre for dialogue and cooperation and the elaboration of a mutually acceptable balance of the interests of all states. ■

"Blue helmets" on the Iran-Iraq border. The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the U.N. peace-keeping force is a recognition of this vital function of the United Nations.

Photo from Time magazine

Der Spiegel in its looking glass

"The European climate, and more besides, largely depends on two such states as the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G." Thus President Gorbachev qualified bilateral relations in a Der Spiegel interview given just before West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl came to Moscow. Below our Bonn correspondent describes the magazine.

Almost every issue of the weekly is a hit, even though Der Spiegel, which is intended for a very wide readership, is extremely impartial and serious. No wonder President Gorbachev agreed to be interviewed by it, even though other West German news media had put the same request to him.

In any case, I asked Fritjof Meyer, one of the architects of the Gorbachev interview, to furnish a description of the magazine.

"Der Spiegel," he said, "is Europe's biggest news weekly, and is unique in West Germany itself. Though we have a circulation of over a million, we know that we have a total readership of some five million."

"What do you think of attempts to shift the magazine from one side of the political spectrum to the other? And what would you say about the claim that it is a militant leftist organ?"

"All I can say is that that's a lot of nonsense. Der Spiegel is a news magazine and if the news is bad for the right, they shouldn't blame the people who bring the news to the reader. The weekly is put together by newsmen, and their political outlook is the editorial office's one and only guideline. Accordingly, Der Spiegel can hardly be called leftist.

"Der Spiegel hits out at everyone, at the leaders of the ruling Christian Democratic, Christian Socialist Union and Free Democratic parties, the Social Democrats, the Greens, the trade unions, the peace movement, the West German secret police, the Russians and the Americans. Indeed, Der Spiegel, like other independent publications, can be termed an independent political factor in opposition to everything else. Every single fact, event and statement is painstakingly analyzed and in its comments Der Spiegel attempts to expose what lies behind one or other process or problem.

"In fact, of all West German bourgeois publications Der Spiegel was one of the few that, in covering events in the U.S.S.R. and its relations with West Germany, did not yield to political time-serving considerations or swing from one extreme to another."

At the Gorbachev-Kohl meeting in the Kremlin *Photo by S. Smirnov*

"What do readers say today about the Soviet Union in their letters." I asked.

"They are still much the same as before, as most of our readers view the U.S.S.R. in the same light as the overwhelming majority of West Germans do nowadays."

"Not long ago Hans-Dietrich Genscher said he thought the news media could contribute a great deal to the effort to erase the 'enemy image.' How do you see that?"

"I don't think the role of the news media should be exaggerated. After all, it is not the media but events themselves that mould public feeling."

"But isn't the public told about these events by the news media?"

"Though that's true, it's far from always that people take much notice of what the mass media say. When Nikita Khrushchev was in Berlin in 1962, Springer's newspapers and magazines, which dominate in West Berlin, did their utmost to get Berliners to protest against a meeting between him and Willy Brandt (then West Berlin's ruling Mayor – **N.Z.**). However, most people thought differently and indeed welcomed the meeting. Shortly afterwards Willy Brandt scored a landslide electoral victory. Which just shows what limitied opportunities the mass media have for manipulating public opinion."

I could of course have cited various instances of a different nature. But I had phoned the magazine to learn about the Gorbachev interview and the related impressions and appraisals. Yet I had hardly attempted to steer my conversation towards this point, when Meyer stonewalled and diplomatically skirted the issue.

"It's against our rules for journalists to give interviews or furnish any political comments."

My last question was: "Do you share the view that the Soviet leader's exceptional popularity in West Germany is well-founded?"

"Certainly," Fritjof Meyer concluded.

I think that brief reply meant more than a voluble account of the meeting in the Kremlin.

Nikita Zholkver,
our own correspondent

BONN

Returning the stolen country

The Republic of South Africa has promised to pull out of occupied Namibia. But will this mean genuine independence for the Namibian people?

"We are quitting Angola," stated General Jan Gleeson, Chief of Staff of South Africa's defence forces, watching the last units – about a thousand soldiers, of whom almost half are whites – leave Angolan soil. The accord on a cease-fire in South-West Africa that came into force on August 10 provided for the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola by September 1. It had been completed, however, 36 hours before that date.

The withdrawal of South African troops from Angola also sounded as the opening bars of the prelude to liberating Namibia from South African domination: at the U.S.-mediated negotiations between Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa on a settlement to the conflict in South-West Africa, the sides also agreed on the date when U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 will begin to be implemented as November 1.

No option left

The administration of Viana, SWAPO's transit centre near Luanda, had been notified in advance. The guard on duty, however, did not open the gates until he had made perfectly sure that we were the people they were expecting.

This precaution can be easiy appreciated. One tragic page in the history of the Namibian people was the violent attack by South African commandos on Kassinga refugee camp in Southern Angola. At dawn on May 4, 1978, a unit of racist paratroopers unleashed a bloodbath there, killing over 600 women, old people and children.

Just before leaving Luanda, we were received by Hidipo Hamutenya, CC Politbureau member and SWAPO's secretary for information and propaganda.

"The Namibia question is one of the central issues at the present quadrilateral negotiations. As far back as 10 years ago, on September 29, 1978, Pretoria, having formally recognized U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, agreed in principle to give our country independence. Of course it had its own interpretation of this independence, regarding it as a confederation of individual ethnic formations, or Bantustans, under South Africa's heel. And to emasculate the content of the resolution, with the open connivance of the West, the racists set all sorts of preconditions and effectively delayed implementing the terms of the document.

"Now the Republic of South Africa has, in fact, for the first time in many years entered into a genuine discussion of the Namibia problem..."

"What in your opinion, has made Pretoria change its stand so drastically?"

"First of all, Pretoria is having to take this step against its will. Of course it would like to perpetuate its rule over our country, and South Africa is being compelled to take this step for two main reasons. First, Pretoria has found itself in a serious military quandary in Southern Angola. Previously, Cuban troops were stationed along a definite defence line which they did not cross. But the massive invasion by South African troops late last year and the offensive in the area of Cuito-Cuanavale provoked Cuban troops into joining the Angolan army engaged in military operations. They started massively fighting their way southward by force. South Africa lost a large number of soldiers, including whites, in these engagements.

"The second reason is Pretoria's fear of being left out 'in the cold' – excluded from decision making in such an important issue as the situation in South-West Africa. The Republic of South Africa realizes that President Reagan is leaving office and will not want to retire without rectifying, at least partially, the mistakes of his administration in its African policy. 'Constructive cooperation' with the Re-

Photo: Windhoek – the administrative centre of Namibia

public of South Africa has failed to produce any positive results. Therefore the Reagan administration wants to be able to say that it was at least during its time in office that the world first saw the moves towards implementing Resolution 435 and the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola. So Botha had no option left but sit down at the negotiating table...

"Angolan and Cuban representatives are keeping us fully informed on the progress of the negotiations and have assured us, as has the U.S. negotiator, that the question of Namibian independence will be worked out on the basis of the unqualified application of Resolution 435, " Hidipo Hamutenya went on to say. "SWAPO will join in the talks when the direct implementation of the Resolution begins. But problems, and serious ones at that, have still to be overcome."

Indeed, despite the fact that SWAPO has unilaterally announced a cease-fire on the territory of Namibia as of September 1, South Africa has stipulated that it will only begin to implement Resolution 435 when it has been offered a satisfactory schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The tenuous character of this approach has been repeatedly emphasized in the U.N. and by many politicians elsewhere. Angola, as a sovereign state which turned to Cuba in 1975 for assistance in beating back the South Africa aggression, has the sole right to decide independently on the date of the withdrawal. But Pretoria has persisted.

With a view to facilitating the solution of the problem of decolonizing Namibia, Angola and Cuba, as was pointed out by Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, made a concession, starting to discuss a schedule for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops.

Visible reflection of the war

...Viana camp looks like any other camp for people who have fled racist repression. Living conditions there are, naturally, less than modest. But refugees are guaranteed genuine protection and care, without any purely ostentatious paternalism. A crèche and a kindergarten, as well as illiteracy elimination classes, operate there.

"Almost two thirds of our centre's residents are temporary," said Comrade Mtombi, a member of the centre's board. "They are mostly people who are waiting for educational grants or have returned after a period abroad."

The hospital, assembled from prefab elements, has two departments – outpatients' and inpatients' clinics. The wards are cosy, spacious and bright, which is why their orderliness and cleanliness leap to the eye.

From 100 to 200 people visit the clinic daily, and not only residents of the centre and SWAPO members; the hospital also gives medical aid to the people of the neighbouring Angolan villages.

One of the wards was slightly darker than the rest. It contained two patients: one had been paralyzed as a result of his injuries, while the other had a bullet wound in the throat.

The centre also has its own motor depot consisting of an ambulance, buses, trucks and cars that cater for both Viana camp and the SWAPO headquarters in Luanda.

"No one works for pay in our organization," says Comrade Mtombi. "Therefore foodstuffs are distributed free. Almost all the food we have comes in the form of gifts from friendly organizations and countries and is intended for free distribution amongst SWAPO members. Indeed, it is an act of noble humanitarianism and solidarity with the struggle of our people."

Viana camp, which has been functioning since 1979, is itself a graphic example of this. The site, along with the sites for other camps, was given by the Angolan government, which was willing to take in 75 thousand Namibian refugees.

Aid varies in character and size, but it is badly needed here and the people are extremely grateful for it. The bakery, for example, was supplied by the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the motor depot was built with the assistance of Sweden, and the power-generating plant is a gift of the Communist Party and other left-wing organizations of Italy.

The camp's residents long to return home. But Pretoria, having sent in a 100-thousand-strong army to suppress the Namibian people, is bending over backwards in its attempt to hold onto the expropriated territory.

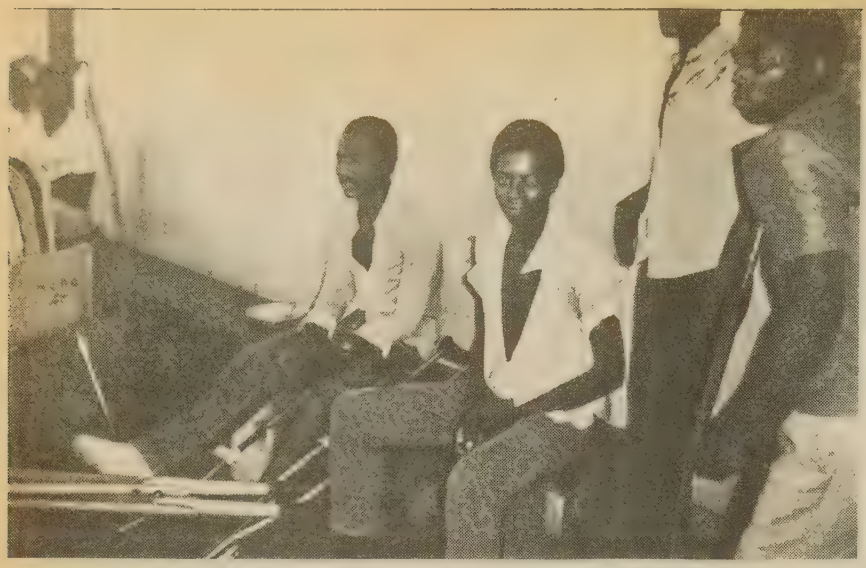
Plunder and fraud

Heinrich Vogelsang must have been pleased with himself. He had managed to land two contracts in under six months. And what contracts! Hardly anyone before him had succeeded in gaining almost a whole country literally for a song. The deal had cost him a mere hundred pounds and 200 guns. And the second! Imagine having bought a coastline 20 "geographical miles" wide and stretching from the mouth of the Orange River to the 26th parallel for 500 pounds and 60 guns...

With this open fraud and deception began the history of the colonization of Namibia, which became in the 1890s a trust territory of German South-West Africa. And now that there is a real chance of the country gaining independence, there is also a real danger that the modern colonizers could resort to political fraud to retain their control over Namibia.

Obstinacy on the part of Pretoria in refusing to recognize Namibia's sovereignty over the port of Walfish Bay is caused by the former's desire to retain control over the country. By annexing this most important economic and trade

Viana camp – one of the many for refugees from racialism



Patients at Viana hospital – victims of South Africa's policy in Namibia

centre, which accounts for practically all export-import operations, along with a substantial proportion of Namibia's manufacturing industry, the Republic of South Africa has made it fairly vulnerable to economic blackmail. Strategically, too, the occupation of Walfish Bay, where South Africa's military bases are stationed, poses a serious threat to Namibia's independence.

The racists are clinging persistently to this barren country for more than military-strategic reasons. Namibia is a major world's producer of gem diamonds, and its mineral resources include huge deposits of lead, cadmium, zink, copper, uranium, silver and gold.

Recently Pretoria transferred additional units of the occupation army to northern Namibia. This may well have been in order to aggravate the situation in the region and create an atmosphere of chaos on the eve of the implementation of Resolution 435, which is scheduled for November 1.

The man from the other side

"We live in conditions of veritable war. Every day people are killed, imprisoned, and houses and other property belonging to Africans are destroyed. The situation in the north, in Ovamboland, is particularly grave..."

Hamupanda Kauluma, Anglican Bishop of Namibia, was not exaggerating in the least. As President of the Council of Churches of Namibia, he has the opportunity to travel relatively freely about the country.

Ovamboland is a major zone of operations for the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, SWAPO's armed wing, and the occupiers' repressions here have become especially vicious. But it is no longer possible to intimidate Africans using roundups and pogroms as a pretext for fighting against "the rebels."

"We the clergy are against violence and are trying to use other methods to bring independence nearer. But we speak with the people, listen to them and understand why they have had recourse to arms."

"Are you not afraid that on your return home the South African authorities may persecute you for statements like this?"

"No, I am not. I am saying now what I said when I was in Namibia, or what I will say on returning home. As for persecutions, such things do happen...

"The sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the people," Kauluma went on to say, "are with SWAPO. This is the only organization that unites all the country's ethnic groups and is actually fighting for independence. Should general elections under U.N. supervision take place, SWAPO is bound to win."

This view is shared by the majority of clergymen in Namibia. The attitude of the authorities to SWAPO also indirectly confirms its tremendous popularity among the people. It is no accident that they are having to tolerate SWAPO's political wing, a legalized force acting in Namibia, while its military wing is outlawed. Of course, the government resorts to all means possible to suppress the activity of SWAPO. Nevertheless, the organization's chances of winning if really free elections take place are regarded as high by almost everyone. But far from all are enthusiastic about it.

The right-wing, racist white population stubbornly resists the granting of genuine independence to Namibia. Contrary to facts and logic, they regard this act as a step towards inevitable "communist rule." More and more whites, however, are beginning to awaken to the realities of today. And among other things, to the inevitability of independence and the African majority one day coming to power. This prospect causes panic in the souls of some people and the desire to leave the country. Those, however, who regard Namibia as their homeland are trying to take a sober look at things and decide if it will be possible to adapt to the new conditions.

The future – what is it to be?

White Namibians, naturally, would like to have guarantees as to their future in the African-controlled country. At the Stockholm meeting between the SWAPO delegation, headed by its President Sam Nujoma, and the delegation of Namibia's business quarters, the white community was assured that independent Namibia will be a democratic state guaranteeing the implementation of basic human rights for all its citizens.

SWAPO, in its turn, openly expressed its concern at the whites' misunderstanding of its tasks and objectives and the likelihood of a white exodus from Namibia threatening to undermine the country's economy.

"We have told them," Hamutenya said of the Stockholm dialogue, "that ours is a vast country with a small population, so everyone will be welcome in it. The economic structure will break down without you and we will all be losers, you forever, we for quite some time."

At the meeting the SWAPO President stated the organization's intention to carry out a policy of reconciliation with all political forces in the country so that all Namibians can take part in political life within the framework of a multiparty democracy. SWAPO will be seeking to build up the basis of an independent economy, though this does not mean that it will carry out a large-scale nationalization of industry or confiscate white farmers' land. The future parliament will carefully weigh up the need for nationalization.

"SWAPO is fighting for power and we naturally constantly give thought to ways of consolidating it," Mr Hamutenya told us. "We are closely studying the experience of our friends who have won independence and power, and on this basis we have arrived at the conclusion that we need a large-scale approach to the problem of training personnel. And we are training them. I mean thousands of people who are getting educations in various fields of knowledge. These include geologists, engineers, lawyers, economists, doctors and others. They are taking courses in the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, as well as in Western countries."

One of the first persons I met in the Viana camp was doctor Yason Shaindi. He had done his internship in a Zambian hospital, having graduated from the institute in Donetsk. All in all, hundreds of Namibians have been educated in the U.S.S.R. alone, many on grants from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The SWAPO leaders are well aware of the comlexity of the problem they will have to tackle if they come to power. They are also conscious that the Republic of South Africa, even while agreeing to implement Resolution 435, will try to impose a puppet regime on Namibia.

Vyacheslav Molev
LUANDA-MOSCOW

Photos by the author and TASS

The export challenge

Vladislav Chirkov

President José Sarney of Brazil described his first state visit to the U.S.S.R. as the highpoint of bilateral relations, both at the political and the personal level.

However, as regards the level of commercial and economic links, I think it would be more logical to call the visit a point of departure. During their negotiations in Moscow the two sides admitted that the structure, dimension and imbalance of trade did not accord with the potentials of the two countries and agreed to consider how this situation could be improved on. After all, our present dealings come to no more than the virtually symbolical sum of approximately 300 million rubles.

Our greatest headache in this respect is the adverse character of Soviet trade with Brazil. Last year we imported goods to the value of 252 million rubles but exported commodities to Brazil worth under a fifth of that amount.

I believe that to be chiefly due to the structure of Soviet export. Sometimes we have nothing to offer potential buyers. Our technology is poor with only a few exceptions; perhaps only the Ivanovo-made machining centres sell well. Then it is not every day or even every year that we can sell superpowerful turbines for mammoth hydroelectric plants. As a result, we export chiefly oil and timber of which we have barely enough for our own needs. But the trouble is that we have to sell something at least to buy what we don't have at all or have only a little of. After all, we cannot let our children go without oranges or our coffee addicts without their stimulant.

Last year the U.S.S.R. sold Brazil only 1.4 million rubles' worth of machinery, metalcutting and machine tools, and means of transportation, but 30 million rubles' worth of oil, next to which on this all-too-brief list is potassium fertilizer.

Truth to tell, our export to Brazil is depressing, as it is more typical of a Third World country than of an industrialized power. Though the reasons need more detailed analysis, let me, for the time being, note firstly that Brazil itself manufactures much of the equipment we are able to offer and, secondly, that the transnationals that dominate its economy have raised protectionist barriers against imports.

What do we buy? Last year we bought soya beans, sugar, cocoa, coffee, rolled iron and steel, other raw materials and semi-manufactures. Indeed, our coffee addicts certainly aren't having a sweet time of it, whether they sweeten the beverage or not, because even if they do manage to find a shop selling coffee beans, they have to queue for so long that they often wonder how long our currency receipts will depend primarily on world prices of oil, reserves of which are by no means unlimited.

At the same time, the Brazilians themselves are not at all pleased with their present exports, as their economy has long forgotten the time when the country could provide only raw materials – as was conclusively demonstrated at the recently opened EXPO Brazilia-88 exhibition in Moscow.

Exports reflect economic ups and downs

Now, besides traditional farm produce, Brazil is offering to export to the U.S.S.R. manufactured consumer goods and sophisticated technology. No wonder, as the country now holds the eighth place in the West with regard to its economic level and the third place for its favourable balance of trade; the last eloquently indicates that its goods are competitive and in demand.

Brazil offers footwear and garments, of which we have more than enough as it is. What we should do here is not import, but endeavour to raise quality.

Motor vehicles are also offered. Though we certainly do not have enough today, I think the strategy we have currently drafted for this industry at home is quite sensibly geared to expansion, not import.

Next on the list come personal computers and other electronic gadgets, in which field, I think, we could buy much, especially considering our declared policy of computerizing the schools.

Brazil's R&D is also of interest, but here again how much we buy will depend on how much we can sell, and not just to Brazil.

In view of the difficulties with regard to the structure of trade, at their Moscow talks the two sides reemphasized the need to explore new avenues. President Gorbachev preferred the exchange of licences, sophisticated technologies and cooperation in production, among other things, in the light and food industries. Note the attention paid to cooperation in production, not to the import of ready-to-wear Brazilian shoes – though they are excellent as I myself can attest. The proposal to organize joint ventures in either of the two countries as well as elsewhere is most attractive.

During President Sarney's visit, an agreement was signed stipulating reciprocal deliveries of machinery, equipment and other items, as was the contract for the Pontal project which envisages Soviet involvement in land irrigation in Pernambuco State. Understanding has also been reached on intensifying cooperation in the areas of information technology, power and energy, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the building of port structures. There are also plans to supply Brazil with sophisticated Soviet technologies for the first railway trunkline between North and South.

All these agreements are unquestionably encouraging. But if we take a realistic view of the situation, we can hardly hope for a dramatic upswing in the short term in the volume of commercial and economic dealings. What must be done more specifically is to surmount such hurdles as the need to dovetail two different economic systems and overcome the cumbersome nature of our bureaucratic machinery, as well as the resistance of the transnationals operating in Brazil.

In short, we must take great pains to cope with the difficulties. The preparedness to do so was reaffirmed with due authority at the Moscow summit.

ARENA bids for power

The country, tired of the civil war, has been promised peace by all parties. What kind of peace do the Rightists offer it — and at what price?

The U.S. newspaper the Miami Herald carried a photograph of a sad old man with thin features wearing a baseball cap on his head. The photograph cannot but arouse sympathy. Only recently Jose Napoleon Duarte, the Salvadoran President, was a man in his prime and did not look as if he had reached retiring age. But not long ago two thirds of his stomach had to be removed and he now has to receive regular treatment in the Walter Reed army hospital in Washington. A U.S. newsman stationed in El Salvador told me that the ruling Christian Democratic Party led by Duarte is no longer able to control events in the country. It is rumoured in the capital, San Salvador, that the U.S. embassy is looking for "new friends."

Things went awry for the Christian Democrats after the municipal and parliamentary election in March at which the party lost its majority. The ultra right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) won the election. It managed even to win in the Christian Democratic stronghold, the municipal council of San Salvador.

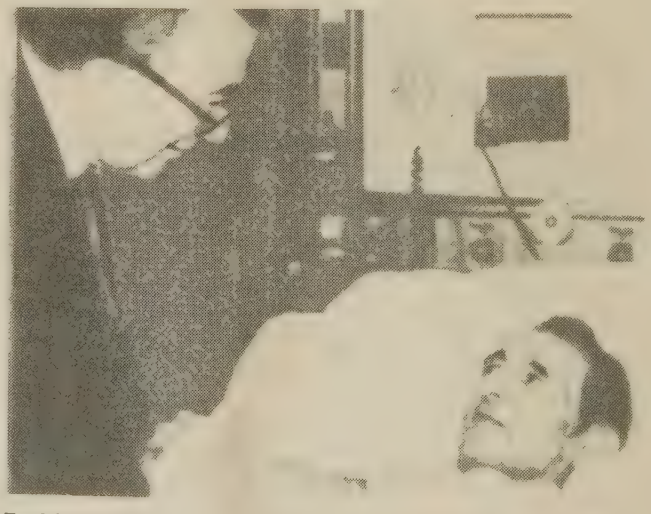
The defeat of the Christian Democrats came as no surprise. During their rule the economic crisis in the country, already poor, has grown much worse. The production of cotton and coffee, the principal hard currency earners, has declined. The multimillion U.S. aid was of no help. Half of it was wasted on fighting the insurgents, while the other ended up in the pockets of the corrupt ruling elite. The economic plight of the country further aggravated social problems — unemployment and poverty. The ordinary people are still defenceless in the face of the ultra right-wing Death Squads. The problem of national reconciliation is far from having been resolved. It is the duty of the government to deal with that problem under the Guatemala agreements signed in August 1987. The war against the patriots has grown even fiercer. The chief supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, the landowners and industrialists, have withdrawn their support thanks to the governments taxation policy. The ruling party is becoming bogged down in infighting.

Swing to the right?

Changes are long overdue, but why did most voters support ARENA, a party widely believed to have had a hand in the crimes of the Death Squads? Does this amount to a swing to the right in the political sentiments of Slavadorans? It would appear that most Salvadorans have grown weary of the civil war. According to a poll conducted recently by the Catholic Church, 75 per cent of the population favour a negotiated settlement of the internal conflict. By voting for ARENA, many voters gave the Christian Democrats a vote of no confidence. It would be more appropriate to speak of a defeat for the Christian Democratic Party, than a victory for ARENA.

The weak points of the Christian Democrats are well known to ARENA, and in the run-up to the presidential elections next year its slogan is a redress of the economic situation and a fight against corruption in official circles and the army. The alliance wants to weaken the already token state control of the economy. The poor sections of the population are attracted by ARENA's pledge to ensure a "fair" distribution of the national income. The idea is to establish a fund made up of tax revenues and spend them on "social needs." The leaders of ARENA have pledged to assure peace, but it is not clear how they propose to go about it. Certain Salvadoran politicians, including some with left-wing sympathies, are of the opinion that ARENA has shifted towards the centre from its extreme right-wing stand in the past. ARENA's leader Alfredo Cristiani supports this view. He has described his party as a conservative one.

There are, of course, people with moderate views in ARENA, but do they make its policy? Alfredo Cristiani has acknowledged that the founder and ideological leader of ARENA is former Major Roberto D'Aubuisson. One of his closest associates is another retired military officer, Colonel Sigfrido Ochoa Perez. The names of these two men are widely known in the country, but people speak of them in hushed tones. Roberto D'Aubuisson was involved in the assassination of the Archbishop of San Salvador, Oscar Arnulfo Romero. One reason why D'Aubuisson was never prosecuted is that he is a member of the Legislative Assembly. One of his former security guards, Jose Torres, and a cook who worked in a conspirator's flat for the "secret anti-communist army" but subsequently became disaffected with ARENA and left El Salvador, have said that Roberto D'Aubuisson was involved in the organization of political assassinations by the Death Squads, the "secret anti-communist army," the Maximiliano Hernandez Brigade and terrorists of the Mano Blanca gang. The two men also spoke of a well organized liaison system between the



Bedridden President Duarte receives Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti

U. S. military advisers instruct Salvadoran troops

terrorists and police. Thousands of Slavadorans were murdered, or disappeared, thanks to the activities of the Death Squads. In its bid for power ARENA will find it hard to discard the neavy burden of friendship with terrorists.

Washington and the army

According to the Miami Herald, a paper with a considerable circulation in Central America, the U.S. gives half a million dollars worth of military aid to El Salvador every day, not to mention other kinds of aid. Washington realizes that the army is a force to be reckoned with, but political and military circles in El Salvador are extremely volatile. A colonels' coup took place in the army recently. Taking advantage of the absence of real power in the country, army officers led by Colonel René Emilio Ponce usurped top Army posts. Of the former top-ranking army officers, only the Defence Minister, General Carlos Casanova, and the Chief of the General Staff, Adolfo Blandon, kept their posts. René Emilio Ponce is aiming to become chief-of-staff.

The latest events in the Salvadoran army may have unpredictable consequences for the future of the country. Officers who only yesterday fought against the insurgents now hold top army posts. They were irritated by the "indecision" of the politicians. They are now convinced that they can cope with the insurgents, and their idea of dealing with them is to be firm and abandon attempts to woo the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. The associates of René Emilio Ponce have always been impatient with the "soft" ways of Duarte. The present situation in the country enrages them. The colonels have told newsmen bluntly that El Salvador must be ruled with an iron hand.

Will the conspirators be prepared to wait until the Christian Democratic term of office expires and the present Defence Minister leaves his post, or will they try to speed things up? This depends in large measure on Washington's stand. It is widely believed that Washington will use its influence with the Salvadoran military (after all, the present generation of army officers were educated in the U.S.) and prevent a military coup. A U.S. journalist told me that American diplomats in San Salvador are at present looking for a suitable candidate for the presidency among ARENA moderates or "reliable" Christian Democrats like former Minister for Planning Fidel Chavez Mena. Military involvement would only upset Washington's plans at the moment.

In search of a strategy

Left-wing forces in El Salvador have been keeping a high profile. On the one hand, the patriots have shown their strength, having carried out a number of successful military operations. The raids mounted by the insurgents demonstrated that a military confrontation with the democratic forces, the backbone of President Duarte's policy, has no prospects. On the other hand, the Salvadoran left have not abandoned peaceful parliamentary competition with the ruling party or talks to settle the crisis.

At the end of last year Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, the leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, returned to the country after a long period in exile. The front is a coalition of democratic organizations set up in 1980 to coordinate the struggle of the popular masses against the reactionary forces. Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora have said they will be waging an open political struggle against the Duarte regime, and that representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front will run for presidency. The leaders of the front are resolved to conduct an organizational and propaganda campaign among the people as part of the election campaign.

Some parties in the front have already registered with the Central Electoral Council, a move that introduced a dramatic change in the line-up of political forces. United in an alliance known as the Convergencia Democratica, these parties are a force that the right will have to reckon with. Small wonder that the right have made a series of proposals to form coalitions. In an interview, Ruben Zamora said that the Christian Democratic Party and the National Conciliation Party had made such proposals through the U.S. embassy. The right are trying to split the Convergencia Democratica, because one of the conditions for forming a coalition is the front's breaking off with the National Liberation Front, which has now been fighting against the regime's army for eight years. Ruben Zamora said that a firm alliance of the two fronts – the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the National Liberation Front – is needed now more than ever before.

The left in El Salvador stands a good chance of increasing its following and strengthening its position in fighting for power, which it sees as a means of carrying out democratic reforms, rather than as an end in itself.

Yuri Kudimov
our own correspondent
MANAGUA

Photos from the newspaper El Pais (Spain) and Time magazine (U.S.)

The ethics of solidarity

Interview with **ZIA RIZVI**, General Secretary of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues.

Zia Rizvi's good will seemed to be sincere. I asked him to tell New Times readers about the non-government organization he represents.

"Our commission," said Mr Rizvi, "consists of 30-odd prominent public figures, many of whom have held important posts in their governments. Among the members of the commission are Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defence, Edward Whitlam, former Prime Minister of Australia, David Owen, former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of Britain, Mohammed Hidayatullah, former Vice-President of India, and Luis Echeverria Alvarez, former President of Mexico... People from the socialist countries also participate in our efforts, for example Lazar Mojsov, a member of Yugoslavia's Collective Presidency, and Igor Blishchenko, a professor of law from the Soviet Union. The commission is chaired by Sadruddin Aga Khan, coordinator of the U.N. humanitarian and economic assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan, and Hassan ibn Talal, the Crown Prince of Jordan.

"What tasks do we have? We think too much attention is being paid today to economic and military issues, to the detriment of humanitarian ones. We still lack a scientifically-based approach to these issues. This contempt for the human being had to be countered, and the members of our commission decided to study humanitarian issues on the scientific level of today. In other words, we want to take humanitarianism out of the heart and raise it to the level of reason."

"What problems come to the commission's attention?"

"Our task is to study problems related to human living conditions. Famine, homeless children, refugees, missing persons, deforestation, desertification, the situation with the natives of some regions... All these problems will, we think, have become especially acute by the turn of the century. What we need to overcome them is a new ethical approach. We are elaborating recommendations. We have agreed on a set of economic criteria that make it possible to forecast famine. We have also launched a relief programme for homeless children, whose number today is 30 million and will continue to grow with urban expansion. We sent our recommendations to the U.N. Children's Fund and it radically changed its policy; special departments were set up there to look into the problem of homeless children. The commission has elaborated a system to help ethnic minorities to survive and preserve their ethnic identity.

"Our family is directly descended from the Prophet Mohammed," says Zia Rizvi. "I belong to the 48th generation of a fourteen-hundred-year-old family living in Pakistan, Iran and even India. The tomb of one of my forefathers – Imam Reza – is the principal Shiite shrine in Iran. I too am a Shiite. I live in Geneva permanently, though I am a Pakistani citizen. The last time I visited the Soviet Union was 13 years ago, and after all these years the changes that are now under way in your country leap to the eye. What has especially impressed me is the change in people – they have become less inhibited, more relaxed, as if they had regained their souls. My 14-year-old son begged me to bring him to Moscow and I think that's a good omen."

"We are not going to confine our activities solely to these programmes. Our supreme goal is to create international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, have the governments change their attitude to humanitarian issues and rise above their egoistic interests."

"What made you join the commission?"

"I came to the conclusion that human suffering and aspirations are the same under any political regime. I am a lawyer by training, particularly in the domain of international law. I have taught law and worked at UNESCO and the U.N. headquarters in New York, where I dealt with refugee problems. In fact, the commission was set up by Aga Khan, ibn Talal and myself – we are old friends. First the commission worked under the aegis of the U.N., though on an independent basis. The result of this work came in the form of the report, "The ethics of human solidarity," prepared by some of the world's most celebrated scholars. The report was intended to elevate the importance of humanitarian issues in the public consciousness. The commission has fulfilled its mission. After that Aga Khan, ibn Talal and myself suggested that a new commission be set up to promote the ideas put forward in the report and provide the necessary international guarantees."

"What is the reason for your trip to the Soviet Union?"

"The commission's interest to the Soviet Union was enhanced after the last year's U.N. session, where your country came forward with the initiative on international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. The provisions of this initiative coincide with our tasks on many points. Possibilities thus appeared for contact and, later, cooperation. We have agreed to hold a round-table discussion in Moscow in November, attended by the commission's representatives and the Soviet scientific community. I have come here to settle some minor problems. From the Soviet side, the discussion is being arranged by the Association of Soviet Lawyers chaired by Alexander Sukharev, the U.S.S.R. Procurator General.

"The motto of the Moscow meeting will be 'The ethics of human solidarity,' which coincides with the title of our commission's report. I am a Shiite, but I also profess humanitarianism – the truly universal religion."

Boris Balkarei

With open eyes

What prevents us from taking an unprejudiced view of the Third World, without dogmas and stereotypes

IRINA ZORINA, Candidate of History, **NIKOLAI KARAGODIN,** Candidate of Economics, **VLADIMIR KHOROS,** Doctor of History, and **VICTOR SHEINIS,** Doctor of Economics – all from the Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations – took part in the discussion.

N.T. The new political thinking, based primarily on a realistic appraisal of ourselves and the present-day world, requires that students of Third World affairs and journalists writing on these subjects revise their views of the situation in that vast region and abandon dogmatic approaches and old stereotypes. Unfortunately, we often continue to adhere to old concepts with regard to the Third World. A reappraisal of these concepts is very important in evolving practical policy towards the developing states.

Sheinis. Adhering to old concepts? I would be more categorical. The problems of the Third World, as understood by scholars and, even more so, by the general public, represent a field of knowledge that has been studied very little. The reappraisal of values has not tangibly changed the dogmatic postulates that have dominated the field for years. Diplomatic considerations guided by the principle "lest somebody take offence" are holding back the thinking of journalists and, to our shame, specialists.

N.T. Let us talk about all this now. What dogmas, prejudices and ideological myths are obstructing our thinking? Perhaps we should begin with an analysis of the economic problems of developing nations.

Karagodin. One such ideological prejudice is the firmly entrenched tradition of considering the economic and other troubles of developing nations primarily in the light of unfavourable external influences, the colonial legacy and neocolonial exploitation, the activity of transnational corporations, etc. Such an approach is one-sided. It obscures the fact that, to a considerable and often decisive extent, the crisis which has hit many Third World countries in the 1980s is explained not so much by external causes as by mistakes in the economic policies of their regimes.

In the post-colonial period, many developing countries strove to overcome their backwardness as quickly as possible, and this is psychologically understandable. For that reason, in their economic strategies they put the emphasis on the building of their own manufacturing industry oriented on the local market. It was protected by high tariffs and lavishly subsidized out of the state budget at the expense of other branches of the economy.

More often than not the manufacturing industry, effectively placed in an exclusive position on the home market, is not interested in modernization or new technology. There is no need for advance in the absence of competition. The poor quality of its products, which fail to measure up to international standards, does not enable the manufacturing industry to acquire prominent position in the exports of developing countries. In the long run the position of most developing nations on the world market as suppliers of raw materials, extremely disadvantageous in the present-day conditions, is consolidated, the overall efficiency of their economies diminishes and, consequently, their financial dependence on the West increases.

Khoros. In other words, attempts to gain economic independence through self-sufficiency in industrial output at any cost, without regard for international standards of technology, have brought unexpected results for newly independent states.

Karagodin. Moreover, in countries in Africa and elsewhere the policy of encouraging the production of import-substituting goods and recruiting the work

force employed in this sphere has drained the agrarian sector of its resources and become one of the main reasons for a decline in agriculture and the aggravation of the food problem. The neglect of farming has led to the migration of people from villages, the disintegration of long-established patterns of life without a worthwhile alternative, and the dramatic swelling of towns, with all the concomitant consequences such as unemployment, crime, drug-addiction and prostitution.

The public sector is not a panacea

N.T. The Soviet press has always described the public sector in developing countries as a kind of guarantor of their independent development. Moreover, it has been regarded as almost the main criterion by which to judge the progressiveness of one or other regime: the larger the public sector, it was believed, the more progressive the regime. Nationalization has invariably been welcomed. Is this correct?

Sheinis. It should be said that our approval of any large-scale nationalization in developing countries, and our lavish praise of any expansion of the public sector, suited our general political and economic concept of state property as the highest form of socialization, foreign business as an enemy that at best has to be tolerated for a time and economic self-sufficiency (the content of the term was hotly debated) as a top-priority objective. But everything has proved far more complicated. In our own practice we are beginning to depart from such a simplistic approach.

Karagodin. The role of the public sector in the economy of developing countries cannot be described in one word. It has, indeed, been positive in many respects. It seems to me, however, that it would also now be advisable frankly to discuss the negative aspects of the public sector. In many countries it has obviously outgrown optimal proportions for the economy. Bureaucratic managerial practice is rapidly gaining ground in the public sector, reducing the elements of cost accounting to the minimum. The operation of state-owned enterprises and the quality of their products are adversely influenced by their virtually monopolist position in their respective branches.

Not infrequently the government fixes low prices for goods turned out by state-owned enterprises and the services provided by them in order to support politically influential social groups. As a result, these enterprises often become unprofitable or even incur considerable losses. In addition, the maintenance of an excessively inflated, incompetent and, moreover, corrupt state apparatus places a heavy burden on the budgets and, consequently, the economies of most developing countries. Strict state control of the activity of the private sector, including prices and investment, usually has little effect. It hampers the growth of output, creates disparities between branches and leads to black marketeering and corruption.

Sheinis. In explaining economic progress in developing countries mainly in terms of government intervention, recognizing the role of competition and the market only with reservations, and favouring local over foreign business in practically all cases, we were consistent in our own way, as this fitted in with the pattern of our own economic development. Now that we have seen for ourselves that our economic mechanism needs to be readjusted and that total nationalization of property, with public

Nikolai Karagodin:

The role of the public sector in the economy of developing countries cannot be described in one word...

control non-existent or ineffective, leads to stagnation, as any monopoly does, we should at least stop recommending to others what did not suit us and has created a pre-crisis situation.

Khoros. True, I don't think that in all cases we should now disapprove of what we approved before, and vice versa. But it should at least be recognized that extreme views and solutions are seldom efficient in the economy and that genuine dialectics lies in a realistic approach to concrete situations, not in the dogged following of "principles" drawn up once and for all.

N.T. The rapidly growing indebtedness is a grave problem for developing nations. Their external debt has exceeded a trillion dollars. The Soviet press often explains this situation as a result of neocolonialist exploitation. Is that so?

Karagodin. On the one hand, the external factors, such as the fall in the prices of raw materials exported by developing countries and the growth of interest rates under which the West extends credits to them had their say. But that is not the only reason. There is another important circumstance. In the 1970s and early 1980s most debtor countries did not have effective control over the rational use of foreign loans. A sizeable proportion of these loans went on the construction of projects of minor importance from the standpoint of national interests, or with low profitability, or simply on consumption purposes.

Zorina. Such was the case in many Latin American and African countries, and that is why the debt problem is so acute for them.

Karagodin. At the same time, in South, South-East and East Asia, only the Philippines has proved unable to service its debt normally. The other countries, which spent the loans thriftily on the whole, are repaying them in good time and continuing to make confident progress. In that part of Asia where considerable aid is given to agricultural producers, impressive successes have also been achieved in ensuring food self-sufficiency.

Zorina. Nor have Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela and other oil-exporting countries been able to spend their immense currency incomes rationally. Moreover, Mexico has borrowed so much that it is now the second largest debtor after Brazil.

Sheinis. The present situation in many

Vladimir Khoros:

Overcoming the economic and social crisis in the Third World depends, to a great extent, on the developing countries themselves...

developing countries often mirrors our own problems and miscalculations. In point of fact, we could not have made thrifty use of our petrodollar incomes when world market prices for liquid fuel were high. According to the journal Kommunist (No. 8 of this year), between 1974 and 1984 the Soviet Union earned 176 billion currency rubles from the export of its oil. But this enormous sum did not have much effect on the well-being of our people or on structural changes in our economy. Today both we and the developing nations that have been unable to use their natural resources to their advantage can only lament the change in the world market situation and are having to readjust their national economies in considerably less favourable conditions.

N.T. Does that mean that the thesis about the exploitation of developing na-

tions by imperialism should be removed from the agenda, so to say?

Karagodin. It doesn't, of course, because the former parent states still have many opportunities for imposing discriminatory terms of economic relations on developing nations. For instance, the overproduction of many kinds of raw materials supplied by developing nations enables Western customers to knock their prices down. Taking advantage of the weakness and incompetence of local partners, subsidiaries of transnational companies operating in developing countries often extract superprofits. However, we should take a sensible view of things and see clearly where discrimination and exploitation are practised and superprofits raked in, and where normal business relations, which are advantageous to the developing countries as well, are maintained. Our specialists have to specify the criteria for such differentiation.

Irina Zorina:

We have often taken for granted the broad declarations of one or another "democrat"...

Khoros. I would like to stress that overcoming the economic and social crisis in the Third World depends to a great extent on the ability of one or other developing country to revise the basic trends and mechanism of its economic development.

N.T. What do you mean?

Karagodin. I have in mind the work of streamlining industry, redistributing resources in favour of agriculture and export-oriented branches, improving government finances and providing more scope for the operation of market levers and the initiative of producers. Carrying out these changes is obstructed mainly by forces interested in retaining their former privileges. Among them are employers who have forgotten or have never known how to compete, the urban middle strata, who have got used to government subsidies on a number of goods, and the corrupt state apparatus.

N.T. Nevertheless, some countries have managed to reorganize their economies, haven't they?

Karagodin. Indeed, in the present difficult situation on the world market countries bent on increasing the competitive power of their economies, on the intergration into the international division of labour have found themselves in a much better position than other countries of the Third World. In the 1970s and 1980s South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong, Singapore and Brazil have made a great leap forward in their industrial development and the expansion of their exports. They are consistently being called "new industrial states."

Sheinis. One can no longer discuss ways of eliminating backwardness without taking the experience of Brazil or South Korea into account. Even we should not be ashamed to learn not only from highly industrialized states in the West but also from "new industrial countries."

Karagodin. Indeed, the tasks of economic readjustment in Third World countries have much in common with the problems of the socialist countries. For instance, the Brazilian experience of organizing the production of special-purpose industrial equipment for export or the South Korean experience of building electronic industry in a short time could be very useful in elaborating ways of raising the efficiency and streamlining the pattern of socialist economies, including our own.

Victor Sheinis:

I categorically disagree with the view that there are more important things than political democracy...

Khoros. Quite so. But this does not concern solely the economic sphere. From our own experience we now understand that economic readjustment must be backed up by the reform of our political system. In the political sphere, developing countries also have not a few acute problems that we have for the most part bypassed.

Should the leviathan be supported?

N.T. What stereotypes and dogmas prevent us from taking a realistic view of the political situation in Third World countries?

Sheinis. I think it is necessary first of all to reappraise the role of the state in developing countries. Partly by idealizing our own experience, which we are only beginning to discuss frankly and openly, and partly by drawing an extremely straightforward conclusion from the weakness of poorly developed non-government, public structures in newly independent countries (in the belief that only the state can run affairs there), we often tried in our theoretical works to entrust the state with tasks it is unable to cope with, and underestimated a number of dangerous distortions connected with the growth of this leviathan.

We have long fostered the illusion in developing countries that the state can effectively replace civilian society – the totality of independent public organizations, institutions and standards in industrial countries which, jointly with the state, ensure national consolidation and law and order, and express the interests of various strata of the population. Not infrequently the poor development of civilian society was described as little short of an advantage to developing countries, as it "straightens" the way to the establishment of collectivist values.

The devouring of the individual by society and of society by the state was justified not only by interested forces in the Third World but also by many of our specialists and journalists as an essential prerequisite for national unity.

Zorina. Attempts by a number of opposition parties and public organizations representing the interests of one or other ethnic, social or other minority to uphold their independence came to be regarded as subversion of national unity or even as a betrayal of supreme "common" interests.

One after another Third World countries abolished multi-party and parliamentary structures, while our press approved the ousting of the opposition provided that the ruling party, group or even clique (as the Idi Amin regime in Uganda) proclaimed their "anti-imperialism."

Khoros. In fact, such a unification of

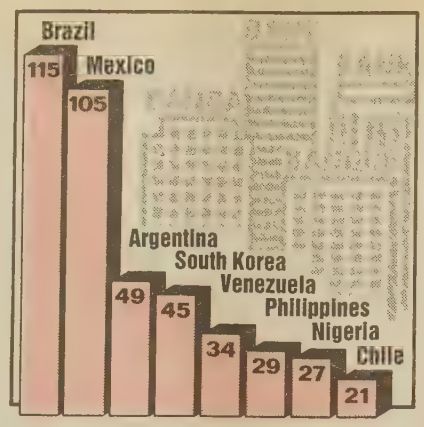
political life was a result of social backwardness.

Sheinis. That's right. But delay in the establishment of a civilian society, of democratic values, rights and freedoms – whatever "supreme" interests are cited to justify it – is no less dangerous and harmful for developing countries and the world community than poverty, hunger and disease. As a result, conflicts of every kind are periodically exacerbated, and conditions arise for the seizure of power by socially and politically irresponsible forces free of any public control and dangerous to international peace and security. It is scandalous that we hastened to welcome the entry of Pol Pot's guerilla army in Pnom Penh in 1975 as a popular victory over the pro-American regime.

Of course, institutions of civilian society and democratic law and order are not yet a guarantee against social evils and distortions. The instruments possessed by representative systems may prove more or less effective (depending on the concrete situation) than the instruments of authoritarian regimes which violently remove their opponents from the political scene and ensure a certain stability for a time by the suppression of independent initiative in society.

It is also true that in developing countries, where democratic systems are only beginning to take shape, they exist, as a rule, in embryonic form and are not yet strong and irreversible, as they only become so with their establishment in society over a long period of time. But necessity should not be made a virtue. There is no way of

FOREIGN DEBTS
early 1988
(billion dollars)



building a modern society without democracy. That's why there is a fundamental distinction between India's multi-party parliamentary system, imperfect as it may be, and the military regimes established in many Asian and African countries, between the Latin America of the 1980s, with authoritarian regimes disappearing one after another, and its recent past when democratic governments were overthrown there. They are by no means variations on one and the same social system or phase of evolution, but a manifestation of one of the main lines of differentiation in the Third World and the present-day world generally.

N.T. Some argue that today the main task of developing countries is to ensure steady economic growth, with political democracy coming in due course as a result of economic and cultural changes.

Sheinis. I categorically disagree with the view current in the Soviet Union and many developing countries that there are more important things than political democracy and that the political system should be subordinated to tasks of "a higher order." The tragic experience of Stalinism, and a series of military coups and left- and right-wing dictatorships in the Third World should have taught all of us to see democracy, pluralism and a law-governed state not as a means but as an ultimate social values.

In the past and, even more so, at the end of the 20th century, dictatorships have proved able to carry out economic and social modernization only for a limited period of time, and not in all cases. But they have also led to such extensive and formidable distortions that they inevitably become a hindrance to social progress. The elimination of authoritarian regimes and the building or revival of a civilian society is usually a very difficult and painful process fraught with upheavals. The erosion of authoritarian structures can now be observed in some Third World countries. But the evil of authoritarianism, like the light of extinct stars, continues to issue "signals" for decades, oppressing social initiative and the dignity of man.

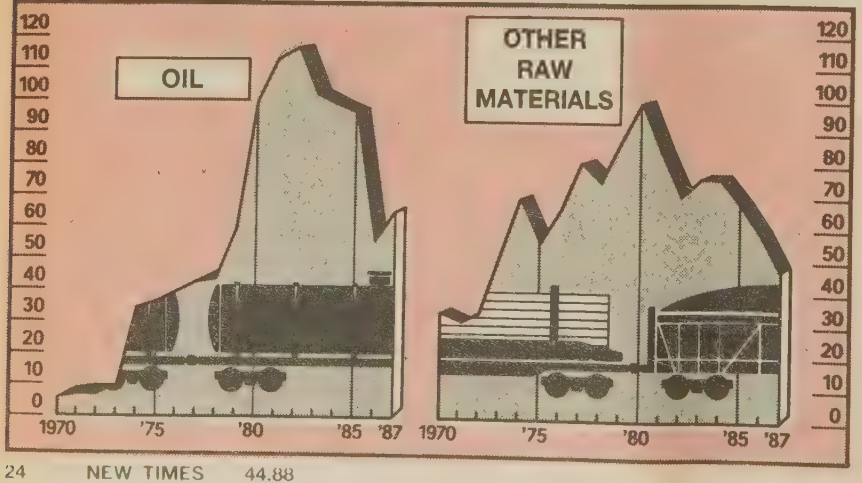
The more fully a dictatorship takes all spheres of public life under its control – not only politics, but also the economy, ideology and the media – the more difficult it is for a country to embark on the road of democratic development, in line with world progress. We should learn to distinguish regimes not by an arbitrarily interpreted "class" principle, but by the real volume of human rights and freedoms they provide.

Zorina. We have often taken for granted the broad declarations of one or other "revolutionary," "national," "people's" or other "democrat" who has thrown his political opponents into prison and easily staged demonstrations of the people's love for and trust in him. The "democracy of participation" should be distinguished from the "democracy of support." This concerns not just Third World countries that have chosen the course of capitalist development, but also socialist-oriented countries.

N.T. The subject of socialist orientation, and some other themes, merit special and thorough considerations.

The round table was conducted by
Alexander Usvatov

DYNAMICS OF WORLD PRICES FOR RAW MATERIALS
(1980 taken as 100 per cent)



May justice be done

The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court **Vladimir TEREBILOV** replies to questions put by New Times observer Lev Yelin

New Times. With this interview our magazine continues its series on the law-governed state. So my first question is what in your opinion should be done to establish the rule of law in the U.S.S.R.?

Vladimir Terebilov. Speaking of a law-governed state, people often interpret its essence and system differently. So everyone has his own recipe to offer. Briefly, very briefly and therefore schematically, the answer could be formulated as follows. Personally I believe that in order to provide the conditions for setting up a genuinely law-governed state, we must first radically improve the existing government and political systems.

First, the acting Constitution needs adding to, particularly with respect to a clearer definition of the division of functions between the Soviets, the Party and the government. That, clearly, should be the point of departure for the next stage in setting up a law-governed state of a higher level. Later, presumably, the entire Constitution will have to be revised.

Second, a radical restructuring of the legal basis of the economic structure and methods of economic management will be required. Ways of resolving this difficult problem are now being sought, but this search should not be allowed to drag on indefinitely.

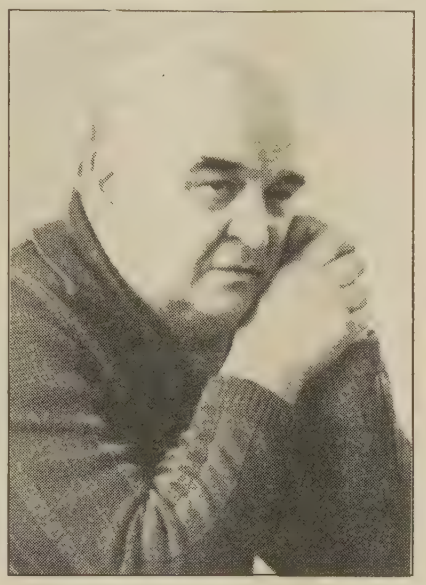
Third, the existing legislation should be reviewed to define more concisely the rights and duties of citizens with respect to the state and to other citizens, as well as the rights and duties of the state to its citizens.

And finally, **fourth,** we must implement a reform of state law, though it would be better to describe it as reform of the courts of law.

N.T. What role should the courts play in a law-governed state?

V.T. The court should stand at the very top of the pyramid of all bodies that administer the law. So what is needed first and foremost to ensure this is that the courts of law be genuinely independent of anyone, no matter who he be, and that the guiding principles of the administration of the law be the presumption of being innocent, a principle that was at one time pushed into oblivion. Today we tell each other that this principle must be observed, but, frankly speaking, it is not always so in practice.

At present, i.e., in the period of perestroika, one does not often encounter cases where someone phones a judge and "suggests" that the question be resolved in ways other than the law would demand. Nevertheless, we feel a law should be adopted on contempt of court and attempts to put pressure on judges.



Vladimir Terebilov:

"No court decision should be a hostage to the times, prompted by current political, economic or other motives. The courts must pass decisions which would be regarded as just and lawful, not only today, but ten, twenty and more years hence."

"Attempts to infringe on the independence of courts of law"

Mention should also be made of other kinds of attempt to infringe on the independence of courts of law, attempts which are at times even more effective than a blunt telephone call... The courts are responsible to the Soviets and are obliged to report back to them on their work. On the one hand, a situation where the court is responsible to no one seems inadmissible. But, on the other, if it is obliged to report back on its work, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the judge will seek to ensure that his decisions do not run counter to the views prevailing in the Soviet he reports to. Moreover, the court is to no small extent dependent on the Soviets for its material and financial needs. So if we leave this principle in our legislation (and it looks very democratic!), then we must at least stipulate categorically that this responsibility to the Soviets – its form and content – should in no measure affect decisions on criminal and civil cases in courts.

The CPSU Central Committee is already considering the question of the form the work of party bodies should take. What I would like to see underlined is that party bodies exercise their influence on the work of courts not through their apparatus, but primarily through those party members who have been elected to the courts of law. And party influence should be used only to ensure strict adherence to the law. Any other solution can only trigger off a fresh spate of old shortcomings and old mistakes.

"A clearer definition of the position and rights of the procurator in court is needed"

In order to provide additional guarantees of the independence of the courts, it is essential more clearly to define the position and rights of the procurator in court. Back in the 1930s Stalin put through a reform of the legal system. Priority was given to the investigating apparatus separated from the judiciary and placed under the procurator's office, which in turn was separated from the People's Commissariat for Justice. That, as you know, made it easy to carry through the unlawful repressions in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. It was at that time too that the concept of "supervision by the procurator" in court was made part of our legal theory. We believe that to a certain extent this concept contradicts the most important principle of justice – that the examination of a case in court is a fair contest. On the one hand, we maintain that the prosecution and the

On October 18, the Supreme Court in Moscow began hearing the case of those accused of mass rioting in Sumgait. The presiding judge is R. Brize, member of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court, and People's Assessors V. Kuznetsov and V. Smirnov

The prosecuting lawyer is V. Kozlovski, Assistant to the U.S.S.R. State Procurator.

defence lawyer are on an equal footing in the court, with the judge having the final say. Yet at the same time we maintain that one of the sides in the court, namely the procurator, is simultaneously entitled to supervise the legality of court decisions. So what kind of equality is that? How can the two sides vie with each other? Where does the judge's decisive say come in? We feel that the logic is completely haywire. The first document on the procurator's office drawn up by Lenin in 1922 stated that the procurator takes part in the hearing of a case and has the right to appeal against any decision – and that's all. Supervision and, consequently, the right to revoke a court's decision therefore belonged only to a higher court.

A couple of words about the Ministry of Justice. Under the existing laws its only responsibility is the organizational guidance of the courts. There have been quite a number of complaints from judges that this guidance often develops into interference in the work of the courts. Clearly, in this case too the relationship between the two needs stricter definition so as to provide the maximum guarantees for the independence of the courts.

N.T. Some journalists and lawyers argue that the sentences passed by the courts are often a carbon copy or largely repeat the indictment drawn up by the investigators and approved by the procurator. Is that true?

V.T. Unfortunately, the prosecution's version is still mechanically followed in the work of some of our courts. For instance, when the Supreme Court meets in a plenary session, we still come up against cases when the sentences passed by the courts of the union republics reproduce the version of the indictment without any attempt to take a critical look at it. Nevertheless, changes for the better are apparent. The courts of the union republics now order re-investigation of more than 80,000 cases a year, while up to 3,000 defendants are acquitted and many cases are dismissed. We regard this as a real sign that the courts have begun to view the results of the preliminary investigation much more critically.

"Withdraw the investigative apparatus from the procurator's office"

Our task is to eliminate completely any mistakes by courts. To this end it would therefore be best to hand over, in the nearest future, the investigative apparatus from the procurator's office to some other body, or set up an independent investigative apparatus, so that the procurator would be able strictly to supervise the legality of the investigator's work and would not be the chief of this apparatus. Say, a procurator has mistakenly decided to issue a warrant for someone's arrest and signed the indictment, it is very hard for him to admit his mistake. That is another reason why the functions of the procurator in the court should not be described as one of supervision or, if it is, the meaning it carries must be different. We believe that the procurator at a trial, just like the defence lawyer, has the right to appeal against the court's decision.

N.T. You said that it would be best to withdraw the investigative apparatus from its present subordination to the procurator's office. Perhaps there would be some sense in setting up such a post as investigative judge, who would deal with all the problems of the investigation and control the legality of the preliminary investigation?

V.T. A post like that or a similar one exists in certain Western countries. But I don't think it would be feasible to carry through such a reorganization in our country at present. We don't have the necessary conditions: the level of lawbreaking is still too high, and neither the investigators nor the judges have the necessary experience. Moreover, if a judge is drawn too greatly into the preliminary investigation, this could affect his objectivity in the course of the court examination.

"Give courts of law the right to verify the existence of proper grounds for arrest"

However, we do think that all the conditions exist for giving the courts of law the right to verify the existence of proper grounds for arrest before the trial. At present the situation is as follows: the Procurator General can give his consent to keeping a person in detention for 9 months before his trial, after which the law does not envisage an extension of this period. Yet in practice we come across cases when people have spent a whole year, two years, three years in prison before standing trial. From our point of view that is an absolutely abnormal situation. This question should be

olved differently: the procurator should ave the right to sanction an arrest, say, r six months, after which it would be the rerogative of the court to extend this eriod for a limited term – a further three six months. In such cases the inves-gator, with the consent of the pro-urator, before these six months are up, ubmits his materials to the court, and it the court's job to consider whether ere are any grounds for keeping an ac-used in prison for any longer. And of ourse, when the case comes to trial, the ourt that examines it must not be the ne that sanctioned the defendant's con-nued detention.

N.T. We have considered the role of ne procurator. Let us turn to that of ne defence counsel. Do you consider normal that defence is allowed ac-ess to the case only after the investi-ation has been completed?

V.T. I believe the lawyer should be iven access to the preliminary investiga-on from the moment a person has been harged. In discussing this problem, any authors point to the fact that in any European countries a person is al-wed to have his lawyer with him from ne very moment he has received a sum-ons to the investigator. I think such a ecision would be premature. And the resence of a lawyer hardly seems ecessary at a time when neither the sus-ect nor the investigator know how the harge will be formulated, i.e., what the person is being accused of. What's more, it will be only better-off people who will be able to take advantage of such a right.

"A lawyer from the moment the charge is presented"

In future I do not rule out the possibility of the defence lawyer being given access from the very earliest stage of the preliminary investigation. But in the meantime I think probably it would be reasonable to try out a halfway version...

N.T. Are there enough lawyers in the Soviet Union? For I hope their role and significance in the courts will now increase...

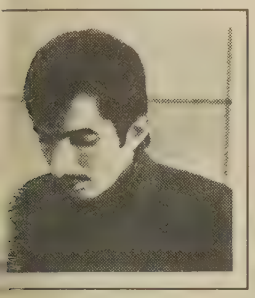
V.T. There are now more than 25,000 members of the College of Lawyers. To that we could add another 70-80 thousand legal consultants who are in effect staff lawyers of their organizations and give legal assistance to industrial and office workers at enterprises. That adds up to about 100,000. I would say that it is still not enough. The courts are interested in strengthening the Bar and raising the qualification of lawyers. I would also say that the judges corps should be partially reinforced by trained lawyers. Their salaries need to be boosted and we should set up a national union of lawyers.

N.T. Would you consider it feasible to institute an independent group of people's representatives to decide the question of a person's guilt without the participation of the court, and together with the judge decide on the sentence?

V.T. In effect you are asking if we should reinstate the jury system, but I would say that bringing this matter up is a result of the overestimation of the seeming democracy of this form of participation of the people in court proceedings. Supporters of this idea invariably quote the trial of Vera Zasulich, who almost 100 years ago shot at a tsarist official. The jury then passed a verdict of not guilty. But I don't remember hearing of any other such striking example in favour of trial by jury... The jury system does exist in certain Western countries, but is far from being as perfect as some people make it out to be, and the role of juries is not so great. For instance in Canada, which I visited recently, only one per cent of all cases are examined by a court with a jury, while the remaining 99 per cent go before a single judge. Canadian lawyers told us that the jury system remained more as a tradition, and in their opinion it was useful only when examining certain cases, chiefly murder cases. Incidentally, going back to the Zasulich trial, I think the jury passed the verdict of not guilty chiefly thanks to the summing up by the Presiding Judge, Anatoli Koni, who made the utmost use of his talent and experience as a lawyer...

In my opinion People's Assessors in court are much more democratic, since they take part in all the legal proceedings in court, the passing of the verdict included, and don't just decide whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty.

N.T. But probably it is not for nothing that People's Assessors are referred to as "the silent ones" in this country...



e defendants in the mgait case. I. Ismailov, Akhmedov and Djafarov. They are arged with citing and direct rticipation in the ass riots in Sumgait at arose as a result strife between fferent nationalities nd were accompanied y pogroms, arson nd murder.

The lawyers for the defence from Sumgait: A. Abdulayev, Z. Sadykhova, V. Yashin.

Photos by Vladimir Panov

V.T. Getting People's Assessors to take a more active part in proceedings is a question of time as well as proper education, and that depends wholly on us.

"The system of People's Assessors is more democratic than the jury system"

Look how the situation is changing. Thousands upon thousands of people are now standing up in defence of their point of view on the most acute issues. Surely we shall be able to elect as People's Assessors, those who would display the same civic qualities in deciding court matters. We must, of course, give thought to the question of what can be done to improve the system of People's Assessors. Perhaps their number should be increased and a procedure worked out for considering their reservations. In other words, I regard the system of People's Assessors, if it is improved, as more democratic and, therefore, preferable to the jury system.

N.T. What is your attitude to the death sentence as a penalty?

V.T. In our laws, the death sentence has always been regarded as an exceptional and temporary measure. But this temporary measure has already existed for 70 years... Twice, in 1920 and 1947, the death sentence was abolished and then reinstated. Opinions differ very greatly on this subject both in our country and in the West. It seems to me that execution is very ineffective. Even the wide use of this measure has never helped in the battle against crime. Then there is the moral aspect – the use of the death sentence does credit to no country.

"For certain crimes the death sentence should be preserved"

I view this measure as indeed a temporary and an exceptional one. I believe we should not apply it to women or in cases of economic crimes... But for certain particularly violent crimes involving murder, the death sentence, grievous as it be, should be preserved for a certain period.

N.T. Aren't the prison sentences passed in the Soviet Union too long?

V.T. It is not, perhaps, so much a question of the length of sentences as the scale on which imprisonment is used. At the beginning of the 1980s, about 60 per cent of those charged with criminal offences in the Soviet Union were sent to prison. We have come to the conclusion that such a strict approach is not always really necessary. Lately only about a third of those charged with criminal offences have been sent to prison. In a sense that is a turning point... It cannot be ruled out that this approach has produced some mistakes. But I nevertheless feel that we should continue to aim at reducing prison sentences. On the other hand, the courts must not slide into unacceptable liberalism with regard to persons found guilty of repeated crimes or particularly dangerous ones.

Some sociologists claim that after 15 years in prison, a degradation of the individual sets in and it is hard to expect the person to be able to return to normal life. In view of this, it has been suggested that the maximum prison sentence be reduced to 10 years. I am not sure that this is right. There are quite a number of crimes for which a 15-year sentence would be justified and fair. Moreover, in cases of particularly dangerous crimes the courts will be able to refrain from imposing the death sentence and to limit the punishment to long terms of imprisonment. I think greater confidence should be placed in the courts, which should approach this complex problem reasonably, without going to either extreme.

N.T. A question that is now much discussed is: should those who directly carried out Stalin's repressions be prosecuted? What is your view, specifically, about the judges of those days?

V.T. If any such persons are alive, then as a rule they are over 80 years old, for many the statute of limitations has expired, and proof of their criminality has largely been lost. But were such persons to be found, then probably one could and should decide whether to open an investigation.

As for the judges who in the 1930s and 1940s heard the cases of so-called "counterrevolutionary" crimes, some of them, according to available documents, were guilty of passing unmerited sentences. For isntance, the now dead Ulrikh, Matulevich, Ievlev. I name the dead not because I want to cover up for those still alive. No. We simply don't know of any such people, and the investigative bodies have found none. Now, when we are reviewing the cases of the 1930s and 1940s, and that is when most of the trials of "enemies of the people" took place, we make a point of checking who the judges were and what was their subsequent fate.

It should not be thought that persons directly responsible for falsifying criminal cases remained unpunished. Many of those who worked in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs were tried and sentenced to death.

N.T. What criminal cases are now being examined by the Supreme Court?

V.T. If you mean cases that have not previously been examined by any lower court, then there are two.

"Churbanov is being tried not for his family connections, but for his crimes."

The first is the case of the former First Deputy Minister of the Interior, Y. Churbanov, and a group of his subordinates. They have been charged with taking bribes and abuse of their official position. Even during the preliminary investigation of the case, it received a lot of publicity and evoked wide public interest. Yuri Churbanov was the son-in-law of Leonid Brezhnev, who for 18 years headed our country. But Churbanov is being tried not for his family connections, but for his crimes. The hearing of the case will continue for several more weeks. At the beginning, Churbanov admitted to having on a number of occasions received large sums of money from senior officials of the Uzbek Republic, but he described them not as bribes but as abuse of his official position. We shall be able to speak in greater detail and more accurately about the case only when a verdict has been passed, not because I don't want to mention certain things... But I believe a judge should abide by the principle of listening, listening and evaluating, and then summing up what he wants to say in the verdict...

The second case was handed up from the town of Sumgait in Azerbaijan, where 32 people, mostly Armenians, were killed as a result of mass rioting. The case was not heard in Azerbaijan, but passed on to the Supreme Court in order ot ensure the utmost objectivity and lack of bias for the defendants A. Akhmedov, I. Ismailov and Y. Djafarov. This is not the first court hearing connected with the Sumgait events. Azerbaijani courts have already examined 19 cases and passed various sentences on 25 people.

I would say that the verdict on the case of Akhmedov, Ismailov and Djafarov could be pronounced before this month is out...

■

What hurts, doctor?

Leonid Zagalsky

How to cure our public health system's ills

As a sharp-tongued satirist aptly put it, we've long surpassed other countries in the number of doctors, so the problem now is to fall behind them in the number of the sick.

The present state of our public health system can best be described, in a nutshell, as "you name it - our doctor hasn't got it." You can consider yourself lucky if you chance on the medicine you need; soothers, thermometers, iodine and bandages have long been in short supply. Practising physicians have practically no dispensable tools (and this in a situation where AIDS is rampant). The industry ignores doctors' needs. Absurdly, cottonwool is supplied in bales and manganese crystals in barrels, although these commodities are normally retailed in small wads and three-gram phials, respectively. Plaster is transported to hospitals in waggonloads. It would be naive to think that the health system has only itself to blame for all its troubles. Its instruments are poor-quality and its scalpels blunt – but that's the way our metalworking industry makes them; the food in its inpatient clinics is bad – but look at our agriculture; most of its hospitals are rickety one-toilet structures without hot running water – but what else can you expect with our construction industry being what it is. The problems of our public health system stick out a mile, and the ordinary people who use its services know them better (by experience) than even the minister of health does. Our ailing medical service is the talk of the country. A celebrated poet has perpetuated in verse the true horror story of rats attacking a new-born baby left unattended in a maternity hospital ward. The poet learned the fact from a report by the minister of health.

That's how matters stand today. What's the outlook for the future?

I am not going to lapse into hollow optimistic officialese like: We know our shortcomings, comrades, we have set ourselves clear-cut objectives, so let's get down to work with our sleeves rolled up. The stagnation years did heavy – in some spheres, irreparable – damage to our medicine. It's going to be quite some time before our public health system makes up for it. Things have already largely changed for the better, however. As recently as two years ago our health system got only 3.9 per cent of the national budget as against 10.9 per cent in the U.S., 9.1 per cent in Belgium and six per cent in Bolivia. By the year 2000 we shall probably have managed to bring the figure up to eight per cent. This is quite an achievement – compared with Bolivia – but it all depends on the way you look at it. Be that as it may, our public health system has now received a lump sum of money, enough to "patch up" its numerous "holes" and even carry out radical reforms.

Our doctors have done without congresses for 63 years. What then was the idea of bringing together, in the Kremlin Palace, representatives of practically all spheres of the science concerned with human health? Says Yevgeny Chazov, Minister of Health of the U.S.S.R.:

"Glasnost is being given every encouragement in our country, and the processes of democratization are gaining momentum. We therefore think that the reforms recently provided for by a number of executive directives can be implemented only given the active involvement of medical doctors at large. At the congress, we want to find out what rank-and-file doctors and public health authorities believe to be the way to rectify the situation in health care."

Did the congress live up to the minister's expectations? (Incidentally, his own report was free of the complimentary clichés we are all sick and tired of.)

I think it did, in part. Many interesting suggestions were made at the congress. There was hardly a sphere of medicine the speakers did not dwell upon. They spoke of the need for the family doctor, suggested ways of improving the efficiency of our polyclinics, criticized authoritarian methods of management, demanded new medical equipment, urged the opening of diagnostic centres and discussed experiments in bureaucratic staff reduction and the problems of the doctors' own health and recreation. It only remains to be hoped that at least some of the suggestions that were made are put into practice. We still have fresh memories of the times when even the most brilliant ideas were nipped in the bud. One would like to believe that nothing of the kind will happen this time, and that the congress resolutions will be a guide to action for our doctors. The congress was attended by representatives of the government, which is very important as an indication that now, with perestroika under way in **all** spheres – ethical, economic and political – the problems connected with health protection command special attention.

In between session I ran into an old acquaintance of mine, a republican deputy health minister.

"Well, what are your impressions?" I asked him.

"I shall answer your question in a few years' time, if you don't mind," he said reservedly. "Today we discuss shortcomings most of the time. I hope I'll live to see the time when we start summing up our achievements. It's a pity we are wasting so much time on trifles again. Many of the speakers enthuse over the minister's report, while not suggesting anything of substance themselves. True, the situation now is not what it used to be. Whereas previously applause signified 'profound satisfaction,' now it's a polite way of telling a gas-bag to shut up."

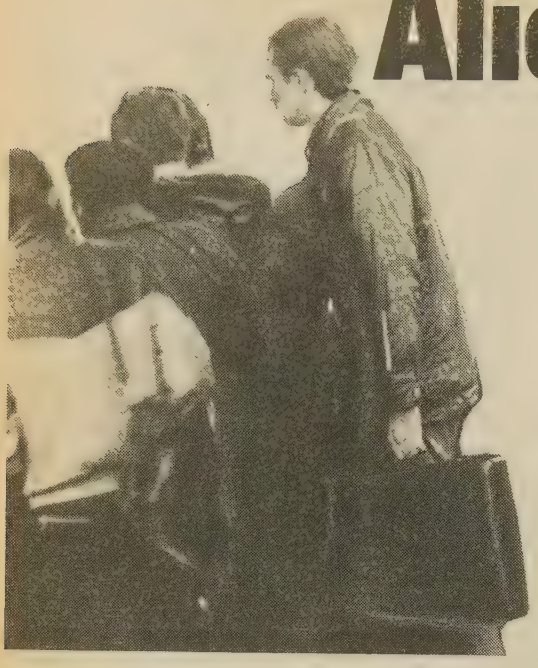
And one last thing.

The causes and effects of the current situation in our public health service have been revealed and made public. A number of resolutions aimed at dealing with the sad legacy of the past and putting things right has been adopted. Their list is topped by the Basic Guidelines for Promoting Public Health Protection and Restructuring the U.S.S.R.'s Public Health Service in the Twelfth Five-Year Period and Up to the Year 2000. This document has been discussed nationwide and is now a guide to action. So did it really pay to convene the doctors' congress **after** the adoption of the Guidelines? Wouldn't it have made more sense to do it the other way round?

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Alienation

Why has ethnic tension intensified in the Baltic?



"The Estonians as a people are in a critical state. Since the war the homogeneity of our population has fallen by a factor of nine. The proportion of migrants in our population is five times higher than that of Gastarbeiter, or guest workers, in the F.R.G. Imagine a Moscow where half the people are Chinese... Estonians no longer feel at home in Estonia. We are haunted by the fear of extinction as a Nation."

"Latvians are on the brink of extinction. The birth rate is falling and there are more and more babies with congenital pathological abnormalities. The influx of migrants is preventing the Latvian people from reproducing itself biologically and culturally, and the migrants are the first to get housing and places in childcare centres. We cannot live with the thought that we are the last generation of a vanishing people."

One hears such chilling statements all over the Baltic. In Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, wherever I went the leaders of the Popular Fronts or the Perestroika Movement are speaking out from rostra and in newspapers about the plight of their countrymen, raising the alarm and calling for immediate action. The extinction of the nation, the loss of the native language, the preponderance of migrants and the ethnic question are constant subjects of conversation in which facts often come second to emotions.

History

Many people in the Baltic attribute the present demographic situation to Stalin's crimes and the errors of the leaders who succeeded him. Repressions in the Baltic began almost immediately after the republics joined the Soviet Union. Not just former policemen, members of pro-fascist units and government officials, but members of the intelligentsia with unsullied reputations were deported. The last deportation before the war took place on June 14, 1941, one week before nazi Germany attacked. In the 1930s, many Latvians living in the Soviet Union, mainly revolutionarists, the legendary Lettish sharpshooters who had left their country to help build socialism, were liquidated. Aleksandrs Drizuls, member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, proceeding from prewar population censuses (inasmuch as they can be relied on), believes that at least several tens of thousands of Latvians living in the U.S.S.R. perished.

After the war, repressions in the Baltic resumed, their main target being the rural population. Many farmers were declared to be kulaks. On March 25, 1949, 43,000 Latvians were deported and their property was confiscated. The republic was deprived of people who were able and willing to work and were loyal to the authorities. In this way Stalin's collectivization effectively undermined Latvian agriculture.

I heard similar stories in Lithuania and Estonia. Mark Soosaar, first secretary of the board of the Estonian Cinema Workers' Union, thinks that in the 1940s Estonia lost almost a quarter of its indigenous population, including those who "left in 1944, fearing a repeat of Stalin's prewar repressions." More than 37,000 families (120,000 people) were deported from Lithuania before and after the war. Incidentally, so far only 12,000 of them have been rehabilitated. The process of rehabilitation and the return of part of their property has dragged on for decades. The work speeded up this year when commissions of the Council of Ministers addressed themselves to the question of rehabilitation and damages.

The disappearance of several hundreds of thousands of people had a crippling effect on the small nations. Some people were victims of Stalin's repressions, and some escaped along with the retreating German troops. Now there is a tendency to bracket them together and blame Moscow for everything. I think one should be more careful in drawing up the list of martyrs: those who left with the Wehrmacht troops were nazi collaborators who had fought on the side of Hitler's Germany, and those who took to the woods after the liberation of the Baltic also had their hands dripping with blood. I was shocked when an Estonian cultural figure, reminiscing about the years of the nazi occupation of Tallinn, said only that the Germans had given back to the people all the radio sets requisitioned by the Red Army, that the German officers billeted in his house were by and large very decent people and that after the Soviet air raids of Tallinn he saw only the bodies of women and children, and not of German soldiers.

Even in the flush of polemics, wishing to restore the historical truth, one should not forget how many concentration camps there were in the Baltic, where Soviet prisoners of war and civilians were murdered by local people. In 1944, the

Soviet troops came to the Baltic as iberators.

"There were 200 concentration camps n Estonia, but you can hardly find a single monument," says Valdur Timusk, who survived the occupation. "At the most conservative estimate, 150,000 people were exterminated in Estonia... Many of my compatriots readily agreed to take part in the massacres in exchange for cigarettes, leather soles for their boots, vodka and the chance to rape women who had been condemned to death... If they fled with the Germans or joined the forest brothers, Stalin had nothing to do with it."

Addressing the Plenum of the Writers' Union, Janis Stradin, Member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, took a more balanced stand when he spoke in favour of building a monument to the Jews massacred by Hitlerites in Riga.

"I think Latvians should take part in this work in order to admit their guilt before the fraternal people, because Latvians also took part in the massacres. Although they were fascists and nazi collaborators, and the people have banished them from their memories, they were brought up and reared by our people... If we want to think of ourselves as a nation, we must take responsibility for everything our compatriots have done. We Letts need this more than the victims of past terror..."

Migrants

After the war, the Baltic began to industrialize. The predominantly agricultural republics, whose farms had been depopulated, were short of manpower. So, labour began to be imported. This was done by the Union ministries that built their enterprises there. Industry was created with imported raw materials and an imported work force. Its products were exported, leaving the republics with a deteriorating environment and a growing number of "migrants".

The term as such sounds contemptuous enough and is probably supposed to mean that the persons in question are obsessed with changing places of residence, as if roaming the country is their only preoccupation. What about a person who has moved from town to town just once in his life? Is he a migrant, too? Or if he has stayed here for 20 years? Is his son to be branded "a migrant's son?" It was they, according to the local people, who got preferential treatment in being given new flats, who settled here and distorted the ethnic composition of the nation. As a result, Estonians and Letts account for just over half the population in their republics (Lithuanians make up more than 80 per cent of the population in theirs)... How is the situation to be rectified? Get rid of the migrants, thinks the Popular Front.

Anger at the none-too-sensible methods of industrialization has turned against the people **invited** to work here. Yet they did not take the decisions to build these enterprises and they did not ask to be sent here, but were ratified.

Now they are being maltreated and are having to pay for other people's wrongdoings.

One can go along with the Popular Front's arguments against lop-sided industrialization that by failing to take into account the available manpower and natural resources only increased social tensions. It is logical that the Councils of Ministers of the Baltic republics have taken economic and administrative measures to stop the influx of manpower, and have asked the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to postpone the building of new enterprises and the overhauling and expansion of existing ones. When the republics go over to self-financing, they will decide on these matters themselves.

But why are those who have come to work in the Baltic being made the targets of such an offensive campaign? Moreover, migrants are referred to as rootless, footloose people who have lost their links with the national culture, and are ready to leave their home for promises of material well-being. Migrants are said to corrupt society; migrants – not Russians or Ukrainians – are people without nationality; migrants are a gray mass of people with no intellectual potential and therefore hostile to the indigenous population. All the migrants can do is to sponge off the culture and wealth of the Baltic. As if to reproach them, local people say: "For an Estonian, the greatest misfortune is to find himself away from home, to go to another place. To start everything from scratch..."

Most of the migrants being Russian, the flood of humiliating statements has turned against them. It would not be a bad idea for sociopsychologists to look at the kind of image of the migrant that the local mass media are creating and how this image is being extended to cover all "representatives of the non-local nationalities." They might look into how all this is reflected in everyday life, at work and in the services. They might ask how the "representatives of the non-local nationalities" feel when it is asked in their absence whether they should all be expelled or if some of them should be allowed to stay?

Of course, the leaders of the Popular Front would tell you that only extremists demand expulsion. But a Russian or Ukrainian worker in Narva or Kohtla-Jarve can be excused for not following the republican discussions closely enough to know who is an extremist and who is a moderate.

The suggestion that migrants should be paid 10,000 rubles to leave the Baltic came as a shock to the "non-local population". Although the Popular Front promptly disowned the idea, it left a bitter aftertaste. The writer Lennart Meri then suggested that for the sake of national resurgence young **Estonian** families (Estionian by nationality and not by place of residence) should be given preferential treatment in housing and higher allowances, to ensure that the millionth Estionian is born in 2015. Lennart Meri later said he had been misunderstood. What then, was his real message?

The Popular Front's congress in Tallinn heard another call: to allocate flats to Estonian families in the predominantly Russian-speaking industrialized northeast of the republic. When the plenary meeting of the boards of all the creative unions of Estonia carried a resolution calling, among other things, for "more drastic measures to achieve a negative migration balance in the Estonian S.S.R.," what were the 600,000 non-Estonians livinig in the republic to make of it?

One should answer the question: are Letts, Lithuanians and Estonians really in a danger of "extinction"? Responding to Lennart Meri, Academician Gustav Naan argues convincingly that there is no danger of extinction. Falling birth-rates and ageing populations are phenomena common to all advanced societies. The same thing is happening to the Estonians, Finns and the Swedes. Naan noted that some peoples in the U.S.S.R. are in a worse demographic situation. Attempts to improve the situation by offering privileges to one nation smack of nationalism.

What language to speak?

Another starting point in the National Front's programme is that the national language and with it, the national culture, are dying. This is a common concern, as the state of the native language worries everyone, including the Russians. The question is, how do you go about preserving and fostering the native language?

"The Latvian language has been impoverished and its vitality, has diminished", says Ruta Viedemane of the Latvian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Language and Literature. The areas

where Latvian is used have become so restricted that Latvians no longer feel the need to know it. If schoolchildren are not learning their own language, the language belongs to a people going nowhere."

Russian has prevailed in the economy, especially in industry. Russian is predominant in the social and political sphere, although the situation here has improved somewhat, with more party and Soviet officials now having a command of Latvian. In science, the requirement that all dissertations be translated into Russian in order to be endorsed by the VAK (Supreme Attestation Commission) has been in force since the 1970s. Not every kind of higher education can be acquired in Latvian: training in some specialities is available only in Russian. Even in everyday life you cannot always make do with Latvian alone: you have to deal with people who don't know Latvian in shops, polyclinics and post offices.

Conclusion? Latvian should be recognized as the official language in the republic and non-Latvians should be made to study it. Knowledge of Latvian should be considered obligatory for civil servants, health workers and the services. At the same time, opportunities should be created for the development of the ethnic languages in the republic, for example, by reopening Polish and Jewish schools.

The linguistic situation in the national republics is a very delicate matter. An Estonian might say: I live in Estonia and Estonian is enough for me, I don't need Russian. A Russian might say: I live in the Soviet Union, I am quite happy with Russian, I don't need Estonian, especially as I may not stay here for long and may move to some other place.

"In strictly legal terms," notes Jaan Rebane, member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, "both are right. The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of every citizen to use his own language. Whether this is a realistic proposition is another matter."

And Jaan Rebane goes on to explain: "The Estonian's argument is wrong because he does not live only in Estonia. He also lives in the Soviet Union, where Russian has historically been the language of communication between its various nations. By rejecting Russian, he deprives himself of the means of communicating not only with Russians, but with all the other peoples. He also restricts his exposure to world culture, as Russian is one of the world languages of our time. The Russian's argument is wrong because he equates the Soviet Union with Russia."

The "melting pot" has failed in the Baltic. The number of mixed marriages is modest and is not likely to increase. Nor has bilingualism brought the desired effect. In Estonia, in fact, there has been a decline in the number of indigenous people who know Russian, and the number of non-Estonians who know Estonian.

The results are evident in everyday life: some complain that it is useless to ask questions in Russian because you will never get an answer, while others are unhappy because they cannot get by with their native language in their own republic. The linguistic confrontation quickly leads to frayed tempers.

To be sure, it is not a purely linguistic problem: with constant shortages of housing, foodstuffs and services, a person speaking a different language, "an alien," is seen as a competitor who is making unjustified claims.

In short, the language problem is rooted in more general problems.

What solutions are suggested?

The national language is to be declared the official language of the republic. This demand has been put forward by the National Fronts of Latvia and Estonia and the Lithuanian Movement in Support of Perestroika. In Estonia, the draft statute on the official language has already been published. The national language is obligatory in all spheres of public and government life, and is the language of official correspondence inside the republic, with the right to correspond in Russian or other language outside the republic. Bilingualism is obligatory in the health and services spheres.

It will thus be impossible to live in the republic and not know its natinal language. At any rate, those who don't know its language will find themselves at a disadvantage.

Elderly people will find themselves in a difficult situation because it is hard to learn a new language at their age. Why didn't you learn it before?

In the industrialized northeast of Estonia, Russian was predominant and workers didn't need a different language. This, of course, is an exceptional case. Popular Front leaders miss no chance of pointing out that Russians are unwilling to learn the national languages. They have cited figures to show that the indigenous population are better at Russian than the non-locals are at local languages. But other figures can be sized.

Lithuanian perestroika supporters held a congress late last October following those of the Estonian and Latvian Popular Fronts.

Photo by Sergei Podlesnov

Seventy-five per cent of Estonians consider it necessary to know Russian, and 91 per cent of Russians think it necessary to know Estonian. This figure is at odds with the widely held view that "non-locals" do not want to study national languages and have no love or respect for the national culture. But do they have the opportunity to do so?

There are no manuals, no teach-yourself books and it is impossible to enroll on language courses. Russian-language schools are chronically short of teachers of local languages: Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian classes have been suspended for years. Moreover, while Latvian schools devote five hours a week to the study of Russian, Russian schools have only two hours a week of Latvian.

Even Russian-langugage newspapers are trying to come to the rescue of those who want to learn the local language: Sovetskaya Molodyozh in Riga and Molodyozh Estonii in Tallinn carry language lessons and receive a huge mail from those wishing to study.

hallenge and response

"I think barring some dramatic change, e situation will grow worse and erupt o open hostility, turning Estonia into a uble spot similar to Lebanon, Northern land or New Caledonia", says poet an Kaplinski.

The voice of writers has been making elf heard in the Baltic republics over ese past few months. The impact of the iter's word is great, and rings like a toc- in the minds of his audience. Writers ve been particularly vocal and outspo- n since last spring.

What did the 600,000 non-Estonians el when they heard prophecies of oom and doom from a poet, especially the wake of the troubles in Sumgait?

The newspaper Sovetskaya Litva has rried a selection of readers' letters mpted by an emotional though not ified statement by a leader of the huanian Movement for Perestroika. "I nk such words amount to a call for na- nal discord and the persecution of ssians..." "I think this is more than a stake. It is an attempt to oppose the in- ests of Lithuanians to the interests of er nationalities living in the republic. I s born in Vilnius in 1949. All these rs I have enjoyed total mutual under- nding. Now I don't recognize my na- e city..."

The leaders of the International Move- nt, which has sprung up in Estonia, the aim of the movement is to protect national dignity of the "non-local pulation" and counter the attempts of Popular Front to solve the problems Estonians at the expense of other nic groups. They feel threatened by consequences of the introduction of national language, by the proposals introduce privileges for young Estio- n families, and by the proposed law on citizenship of the republic which will, said, be made conditional on a com- nd of the language and a residence alification. Failure to qualify for citizen- p would be a moral blow, as it would an being a second-rate citizen, and ny access to certain material benefits.

The Popular Front is giving the Interna- nal Movement the cold shoulder and riding it. The International Movement is med for inter-ethnic tensions.

People are not angels. The programme the International Movement is not ltless. But the Popular Front, which s harped on the need to uphold the nts of a small nation in the face of a big e, claiming that great-power auvinism is more dangerous than the tionalism of a small people, seems ob- livious of the fact that the Russian-speaking population of the republic is an ethnic minority (or several minorities). Consequently, nationalism is not as dangerous as the chauvinism of a bigger nation, the Estonians. Be that as it may, hunderds of people have felt the ground knocked from under their feet. They no longer feel they are masters in their own homes. Who are they? Guests? But they are not exactly welcome here. Lodgers who have been grudgingly offered accommodation? Gastarbeiter, i.e., guest workers?

Will they not end up as "second-rate citizens" in the national republic? Will a Russian or a Ukrainian name be a disqualification in applying for a job or for university?

What reply do they get?

"It is up to each person's individual conscience... We are combating individual prejudice," say Popular Front leaders.

It must be said that the Popular Front leaders prefer a hard-nosed practical approach. They argue, for example, that respect for the national language can best be fostered not by words but by proclaiming it to be the official, i.e., obligatory language. But their common sense fails them in the important matter of national dignity.

The guarantees of the ethnic minorities must be stronger, and enshrined in law. The Popular Front leaders should not be surprised that the ethnic minorities in their republics are worried and expect an answer. Incidentally, in spite of the considerable Russian-speaking population, the absolute majority of the press publications are not in Russian. As a result, the fate of the Russian minority is being discussed behind its back.

What they fear most is the call for all nationalities to go to live in the places they have inhabited historically. The appeals of the Pamyat society's ideologues that all non-Russians, Jews, Latvians and others should be sent to live in their former homelands have not fallen on deaf ears. They have been taken up and developed; only, in the Baltic, it is the Russians who are ethnics. The local extremists want them to go back to their ancestral homes. Those who hear the calls "Russians get out!" have Pamyat to thank for it.

* * *

People would do well to learn, not only from their own mistakes, but also from those of others. The unrest in Alma Ata, Sumgait and Nagorny Karabakh appeals to our wisdom.

The Popular Front has embarked on a great cause. It has restored people's confidence in themselves, in their ability to influence the destiny of their republic. Are the leaders of the Popular Front aware of their responsibility? Or are they only concerned with gaining power as soon as possible? I assume that they are inspired by the noble goal of doing their duty to their people.

But aren't the hundreds of thousands of members of the "non-local" population part of their people? If they consider that "their own" people are only those of the same blood, then this is nationalism pure and simple. I am aware that the Popular Front doesn't like the word "nationalism". In the 1950s, the republic's intelligentsia was decimated under the slogan of nationalism. But those responsible were not guided by the nationality principle. Among the "Latvian nationalists" named at the July 1959 Plenum of the CC of the Latvian Communist Party was A. Nikonov, the then Minister for Agriculture and currently President of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Last summer a woman I know who works at a research institute in Riga was stopped by her colleagues in the corridor:

"We know you have Latvian blood. Sign the petition to make Latvian the official language."

How was she to react?

Her father is Latvian and her mother is Russian. The next thing would be to demand certificates to prove membership of the indigenous nationality, with a blood test attached. And what if the other side demands a similar certificate?

Of course, those who intend to settle in Latvia, Lithuania or Estonia should consider their republic to be their home, take care of it and get along with their neighbors and respect them. This is the norm of human cohabitation.

But it would be immoral on the part of the indigenous population to give a hostile reception to the newcomers, demonstrate their superiority or show their disdain for them.

National strife at the lower levels of culture is strong and fierce. Intellectuals form the bulk of the Popular Front leadership. True, intellectuals at all times and in all nations have never stooped to discrimination on the basis of nationality. An exception was made only when one had to speak up in defence of a national minority. it is the duty of the whole country to care for the interests of the Baltic peoples and to recognize their needs and problems. It is the duty of the Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian intellgentsia to protect the rights, dignity and honour of the Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic.

Leonid Mlechin

Riga – Vilnius – Tallinn – Moscow

Wellspring of freedom

Leonid Ionin, Ph.D.

This is the first of a series of contributions by a prominent sociologist well known to our regular readers

I remember what a flood of lively comment was loosed when the idea that ours could be a law-governed state was first mooted. There at once began a review of the state of affairs in the legal sphere. It was found that there was a lack of one thing, not enough of another, that something else had not been provided for at all, that decree, not law, reigned supreme, and hence for the powers that be there were no laws. But the very fact that we could speak freely and openly of all this created the illusion that legal guarantees did exist and gave rise to well-nigh intoxicating hopes for the future.

But any euphoria is bound sooner or later to be dispelled. It was discovered that the boldest talk as often as not fails to produce practical results, and where new laws have already been introduced they either do not work or work badly: **the material pressures of life outweigh formal legal standards.**

These pressures are manifested primarily in the economy. That political rights and freedoms cannot be exercised if economic rights and freedoms are not ensured was drawn to my attention by a letter to New Times from I. Nelipa, a Moscow economist, addressed personally to me. The economy is not only a matter of production and distribution of goods. It can also be the source of freedoms. Everything depends on how it is organized and to what extent its organization stimulates and encourages freedom of economic activity.

The latter consists of three things: freedom of economic initiative, freedom of choice in consumption, and the freedom to dispose of one's own labour.

As regards freedom of economic initiative, things in our country are none too good, to put it mildly. Freedom of economic initiative is **the soil** from which economic success springs, then what we have could be likened to the universe turned upside down. With us it is not the earth that rests on three elephants but three elephants that rest on the earth, with an enormous turtle on top. The elephants are the state monopoly economy. It is a rare tender shoot of initiative that can break through under such pressure.

The result was that the spirit of enterprise disappeared. Its place was taken by hit-or-miss "audacity," the bureaucratic counterpart of democratic initiative, which thrives not on its usefulness but on its pride in its own boldness and grandeur. As for the purely economic results, the chances are that either the mountain produces a mouse, as in the case of such "grand" undertakings as the sweeping of a neighbourhood street which was proclaimed a feat of communist labour, or worse still – audacity degenerates into the squandering and destruction of the natural and spiritual wealth of the country and a gigantic waste of human labour. I shall not cite examples, enough of them are imprinted on our memory.

All this is the price paid for the elimination of the market – the only stable and constant generator of economic initiative.

The elimination of the market also meant the end of **the freedom of consumer choice.** Without the market there is no choice, no freedom. Money remains, but it is not the universal equivalent, the means of exchange, but something in the nature of coupons entitling the holder to commodities – **commodities of a definite kind.** Through a differentiated distributive network the state allots to everyone his prescribed portion (I am not referring to those exclusive distribution agencies which are the subject of heated polemics at present. State retail trade in general has become a system of such agencies). This state of affairs in retail trade is aptly expressed in the customers' maxim: "Take what you're given!"

All is not well either as regards **freedom to dispose of one's own labour,** the third of the economic freedoms. At one time the labour market was arbitrarily done away with, which meant the automatic destruction of the mechanism regualting the flow of manpower to those branches or regions where at a given moment it was most needed.

The mechanism was gone but the demand remained. Whereupon it became necessary to resort to forcible channelling of manpower, in other words, to labour armies, labour camps, convict labour. That is why many of Stalin's "great construction projects of Communism" – Dalstroi, BAMstroi and Norilsk, not to speak of the White Sea canal of painful memory – were carried out not by industrial ministries but by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. This was the logical result of a centralized bureaucratic economy. Today too the ideology of compulsory labour – the persecution of "parasites," their banishment from big cities, etc. – could lead to the same end.

Not long ago, leafing through an old economic journal I came across this sentence: "Need it be demonstrated in the 20th century that compulsory labour is less productive than free labour?" The journal was dated 1922. I could not help thinking that in 1988, at the close of the 20th century, economists and journalists have to write reams of articles to prove precisely the same thing (see, for instance, the article by Vasily Selyunin, "The Sources," in Novy Mir No. 5). What a devastating comment on the decades of building socialism in one country!

In conclusion, let me say that economic freedoms are the earnest and precondition of political freedoms. And until they are achieved, all talk about human rights and political democracy will remain idle palaver. It can therefore be said that the fate of the socialist law-governed state depends on the success or failure of economic reform aimed at putting an end to the state monopoly and centralization of the economy, and ensuring the unimpeded development of the market. Of the market not only of goods and services but also of capital and labour. The progress of the socialist state in this direction will determine not only the economic but also **the legal potential of socialism.** The economy is the wellspring of freedom. Will we be able to draw from that source to the full?

Grandmas, grandpas and society

Senior citizens are by no means a lost generation on the Isle of Freedom

At the wedding of Maria Morales and Rafael Sais, both 70, there were 300 guests – fellow members of the grandfathers' and grandmothers' circle where the happy couple had met. The wedding feast took place in one of Havana's houses of culture. It was an example of the affection shown by Cubans for those members of society who are no longer in the ranks of the producers, so to say.

It was the physicians who in the early 1980s first conceived the idea of organizing such circles. They felt that the elderly would be happier among people of their own age. Psychologists, Dr Maria Alfonso told me at the wedding, reasoned roughly along these lines: as they grow older and retire on pension, people lose something of their place in community life, their dominant role in the family; they withdraw in one way or another from society and often feel uncomfortable even among relatives. They are troubled more than before with all kinds of ailments. Sometimes they encounter a lack of understanding among those around them, feel estranged. This is all quite natural, but how to find a way out of the vicious circle?

The force of attraction

In the beginning, thanks to the psychologists, there appeared in Cuba's parks and gardens elderly joggers and other devotees of physical exercise. But exercise in the open air was only one aspect of the groups' activities. Their members displayed a surprising store of energy and initiative. They cost society no extra expenditure, apart from the medical care due them, which is generous in every respect, and moral support. As a rule they have no premises of their own and therefore cannot be called clubs. They meet either in the open air or in the clinics that serve them or else in the home of one or another member. Every undertaking requiring money – excursions, weddings and other occasions – is paid for by the members themselves.

The groups insist on being independent. When experts wanted to provide them with accessories, the offer was turned down. Perhaps this independent attitude is an added attraction for the elderly.

How strong the attraction of these groups is may be judged by the example of the mountainous province of Guantanamo where, whenever some community affairs have to be discussed, people of advanced years are ready to get up at three or four in the morning in order to get from their remote mountain villages to the appointed meeting place on time. It is not by chance that there already are more than two and a half thousand such groups of grandmas and grandpas in Cuba.

The psychologists could not give me a convincing explanation for the surprising readiness of elderly men and women to do physical jerks together, line up and perform exercises which each could easily do alone. Nor did Dr Maria Alfonso give me an exhaustive reply to the question as to how old people benefit by the company of others of their own age group. One elderly acquaintance of mine assured me, on the contrary, that he felt much better when surrounded by young people; it helped one to bear the weight of one's years, he said.

As a matter of fact, the oldsters do not confine themselves to their own narrow circle. The grandparents are often joined in the physical exercises by their grandchildren. Dr Dieguez of the social security department said that from the psychological standpoint the meeting of the generations was an essential element of the life of these groups. Some of them take patronage over schools and, vice versa, some schools take patronage over them. A good many senior citizens have made a name for themselves as mentors of youths who have strayed from the straight and narrow. In Havana, there is a group, headed by a former schoolteacher, which has dedicated itself wholly to this important work. They do it willingly and wholeheartedly, which in itself is an earnest of success, as those experienced in work of this kind tell us.

All the same, Cuban grandpas and grandmas meet primarily to attend to the immediate concerns of their own generation. To visit a sick friend of their own age in hospital, to sit by his bedside at home, tidy his flat, cook him a meal, and the like. And even such forms of contact as attending meetings and marching in formation on the exercise grounds seem to appeal to them. Perhaps this also explains why the inmates of old-age homes (there are more than a hundred such homes in Cuba, one tenth of them under the auspices of religious organizations) who have a community life of their own, readily enter into contact with the senior citizens' groups and arrange joint activities with them.

Maria Morales and Rafael Sais getting married

Photo by author

Love thy neighbour

Looking at the Cuban senior citizens' groups one cannot help thinking of our own grandmas and grandpas who sit on benches outside house entrances wistfully watching all those going in and out. Surely, with intelligent and tactful prompting they, too, could be induced to

occupy themselves with something more interesting and useful.

The Cuban senior citizens' groups might perhaps not have done so well had they not been encouraged and supported by those around them, by the press and television and personally by the country's leaders.

How can I describe that distinctive atmosphere created by such an accentuated respect for the old? How can people be made feel that such an atmosphere is as essential to society as the air it breathes? Of course, there are very many old folk in Cuba. For average longevity the republic has already left us far behind. By the year 2000 it is expected to reach 84. More than one tenth of the population of Cuba are over 60 years of age. But after all we too have no few old folk, quite enough for our press not to confine itself to an occasional article about low pensions for collective farmers and for mothers of large families.

Then there are the disabled. Looking from the other side of the ocean it is painful to see how little attention we give to them. According to United Nations statistics, one in every ten people in the world is either deaf, blind or else incapable of movement. Do we know how many there are of these in our country? One tenth of the population? Or perhaps more? And why is this category of citizens not surrounded with care and attention? The press of course does carry items about the shortage and poor quality of hearing aids and artificial prosthetic devices. But is that enough?

The Cuban disabled do not wallow in luxury. Their workshops are small and there are still few of them. There is also a shortage of special schools for physically defective children. The important thing is that they are being built at an accelerated pace. The important thing is that the Cuban architects have begun to provide in their projects for the needs of the blind and the limbless. But what in my opinion is more imortant still is that the Cubans do not turn away shamefacedly from their maimed fellow citizens. The congresses of associations of the blind, the deaf and the crippled are given wide coverage by the mass media here. The whole nation follows the literary contests among the disabled and their participation in sports events.

One of the most pernicious of our numerous self-delusions of recent years is the belief that we are the most compassionate. True, our leading writers have suggested verifying whether this is really so. I feel that in this respect too we have fallen far behind and are now obliged to catch up with and overtake others.

I do not wish to idealize Cuban reality, but I must say that what I admire in that reality (and I am not the first foreigner to do so) is its human quality. For in stance, the fact that husbands are allowed in maternity hospitals, that mothers and even fathers may stay in hospital with their small children, that a man and a woman are given a room in a hotel without having to present a marriage certificate. And it is my impression that although the privileges accorded to returned soldiers who performed their internationalist duty in Angola are not broadcast here, Cuban society was fully prepared to give them the attention and consideration they deserved.

...The wedding of Maria and Rafael was a rare occasion. Husbands are not easily found at that age. But, then, celebrations are never very frequent. The important thing is that they do occur.

Vitaly Sobolev,
our own correspondent

HAVANA

YUGOSLAVIA

Toward unity

Every member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has passed a test of confidence

Events on the Yugoslav political scene followed each other in rapid succession. The 18th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia came hard on the heels of the 17th, with an interval of only an hour (!). The 17th plenary meeting had lasted three days, a significant development in itself.

The 17th plenary meeting concentrated on the League's tasks in dealing with the adverse economoic, political and social situation. The 18th discussed amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia. The country needs a reform to eliminate negative tendencies. There is hardly anyone who doubts that there is need for reform in Yugoslavia today. Changes within the League are a prerequisite for the success of the reform, and they must begin without delay.

That is why the 17th plenary meeting set up a Central Committee commission on preparing a reform of the Communist League. The commission will be looking, among other things, into the reasons for the federalization of the Communist League, and analyzing the relationships between party organizations in pursuing a concerted policy.

The course of the reform will depend in large measure on how cohesive and authoritative the Presidium of the Communist League is and on how much support it gets from the Central Committee.

That is why the plenary meeting passed votes of confidence in every of the ten members of the Presidium, including its president and secretary, by secret ballot. Four members of the body decided to resign before the plenary meeting.

It was the Presidium itself that suggested that the voting take place. Addressing the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee Stipe Suvar said that members of the Presidium must know whether they enjoy the confidence of the Central Committee, and whether their mandate is valid.

That definition of the issue is due to the fact that there has lately been bitter criticism of the Presidium and some of its members. There was also criticism at the plenary meeting. It is a different question whether that criticism was sufficiently well-founded. A hundred and forty-six members of the Central Committee out of a total of 158 took part in the voting. Each member of the Presidium needed 80 votes to secure a vote of confidence. All members of the Presidium except for the Serbian representative Dusan Ckrebic got votes of confidence. He got only 68 votes and resigned. The president and most other members got around 120 votes each. The renewal that has begun in the LCY leadership will extend to the entire Central Committee. Members holding government posts, as well as full-time functionaries in executive bodies and public organizations, are expected to give up their seats. A new election will be held, with two or more candidates competing for every seat over the next six weeks. There is no time to be wasted.

It has been decided at the plenary meeting to establish one more working group which, on the suggestion of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, is to discuss whether or not some leaders in Kosovo should be held responsible and expelled from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

A great deal was expected of the 17th plenary meeting in Yugoslavia. All the indications are that many of these expectations were justified. A united national approach prevailed at the meeting. Most members of the Central Committee were unanimous in saying that in the conditions of ongoing crisis a further aggravation of the contradictions between the republics, and federal and local authorities could take an unpredictable course. Stipe Suvar said of the results of the plenary meeting that there was less recrimination at it then previously.

He also said that neither a republic or a single unprincipled coalition had taken the upper hand at the plenum. A start had been given to Yugoslavia's course toward carrying out a genuine political reform.

That is of profound significance, for the plenary meeting took a step towards greater unity in the LCY leadership, a step eagerly awaited in the country at large.

Gennady Sysoyev

Hangovers of the past

Marina Shakina

It's a rare country whose history has not known a Chernobyl-scale calamity, whether for natural reasons or due to man's mismanagement.

High-flown words about ecology entering the domain of big-time politics have become a triviality, as have heated calls to bring the bureaucrats responsible for environment control to their senses. It's naive, however, to think that the "bureaucrats" are not aware of what they are doing. I think that most of those at the helm are fully aware of ecological threat and are eager to avert it. I'd go so far as to say that they support the progressive ideas of the priority of ecological considerations in political and economic decision-making. If only we always had just two possible solutions – the right and the wrong one. Real life does not fit into this rigid scheme and offers an array of answers each of which has its positive and negative aspects.

The ill-famed plan to reverse the flow of Siberian rivers has its counterpart in Hungary. It is the construction of a series of hydroelectric stations in Gabcikovo-Nagymaros. The comparison may seem far-fetched when we have analyzed the reasons that gave rise to these "projects of the century." In our case it was the already habitual mismanagement plus the inherent passion for the gigantic (fresh water is abundant in this country as are other natural resources). Hungary was simply forced to adopt the plan, since the country is virtually devoid of energy carriers and the idea of nuclear power plants is losing popularity here as rapidly as it is elsewhere in Europe (Hungary's only nuclear power plant was built in cooperation with the Soviet Union in Paks on the Danube).

This set of hydroelectric stations – a joint venture of Czechoslovakia and Hungary – has been under construction for many years, and has for just as long been under fire from Hungarian environmentalist groups. Today most of the public supports their protests and there are demands for a nationwide referendum on the future of the project. The government has admitted serious mistakes in the implementation of the project; in particular, restricted access to the information pertaining to the scale, cost and expected economic effect of the venture. These mistakes generated rumours and a familiar situation arose: environmentalists voiced concern about possible ecological consequences to which the authorities and official science responded by accusing them of incompetence. At last several million forints were allocated to a public information programme, much attention was paid to the wishes of the population (especially people in nearby villages and thus most affected by the construction), but the initiative had been lost...

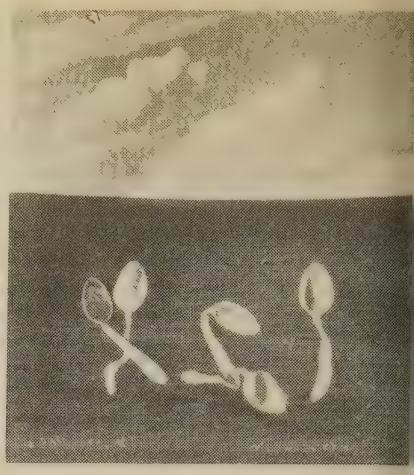
An ecological equation with many unknowns

The Hungarian government is facing a problem with a number of unknown quantities, but several things are known all too well. The hydropower scheme is being built on credit to be repaid in electric energy supplies; this is a joint effort of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and of Austrian firms. The latter are to be paid a forfeit of 8 billion forints if the project is called off. It is also known that the Czechoslovak partners have to date carried out 60 per cent of the work assigned to them under the respective contract, that some 10,000 workers and engineers owe their jobs to the project, and that the country is living through hard times and has to put all its efforts into maintaining existing living standards by boosting the economy. Had the Hungarian metallurgical industry been modernized, i.e., changed over to energy-saving technologies, the project would not have been considered at all. No ecological survey was done before launching the project.

Early in October, the National Assembly discussed the future of the project. Most of the deputies, who are well informed about the possible ecological consequences, still voted for it to go ahead. An ad hoc committee was set up to supervise the work.

We have long preferred immediate gains to long-term perspectives. What we need to adapt to the demands of tomorrow is a change in mentality, which is actually the most difficult thing to achieve. Changes are imperative in the initial conditions as well and relations between science and the state, the authorities and the public, economy and management must be reconsidered. We are all prisoners of yesterday, and much of what we are doing today is preconditioned by our past actions. Alarmist calls to stop development offer no constructive ideas. Progress cannot go in fits and starts. We must thank the environmentalists for their vigilance. The path of development must be altered in the spirit of the new political thinking made up of consistency and flexibility. We have much to learn from our past mistakes in order to create a brighter future where the ecology of production will be complemented by the ecology of culture and the ecology of the human spirit.

Who is for whom



Vladimir Voina

The quality of goods is our constant headache. A quarter of a century ago Nikita Khrushchev said: "One should not, comrades, indeed it's shameful to turn a class-conscious attitude into a Philistine one and look at everything from the viewpoint of the colour of women's knickers. Given the fact that we have outstripped the Americans in launching a manned spaceship, only wait a bit and we shall give our wives under-pants of a colour such as no one has ever seen!" In those days, too, when we were being exhorted not to abandon "a class-conscious attitude," one well-known French actor took a collection of women's underwear back with him from Moscow and arranged an exhibition at his home in Paris. The laughter reached Moscow and the actor ceased to be "a close friend of the U.S.S.R."

Now that we make fun of these old pants ourselves, we are no longer afraid of being accused of Philistinism.

Monologue of the angry consumer

I read once in Fortune magazine an article about the U.S.S.R. by an American businessman. I didn't see a single new or attractive object, he wrote. Every object, cars, houses, everything, was the same unattractive, faded, cheerless colour. Then it dawned on me that the new things were the same: they lacked good dyes.

Ministers for the chemical industry have always promised to provide us with good colours. When? Without them everything around us does indeed look gloomy...

The newspaper Izvestia reports that in the shops of Moscow, Chelyabinsk and Novosibirsk from 25 to 100 per cent of Nota-225 stereo tape-recorders made by the Luch amalgamation in Novosibirsk was rejected as defective. The state trade inspection service warns against purchasing this make as every one of them is bound to turn out to be defective. The amalgamation, nevertheless, is in no danger of bankruptcy. They don't care whether their products sell well or are a drag on the market so long as the equipment and the personnel are kept busy.

The newspaper also informs us that the value of market commodity stocks has grown to reach almost 500 billion rubles, with stocks in warehouses increasing every year, which accounts for a good 90 per cent of the growth of the national income.

According to a report by Estonian television, 125 per cent of the refrigerators sold there need guaranteed repairs. This figure is difficult to make out right away: how can there be more defective refrigerators than are sold in the shops? The secret is that with some models practically each refrigerator sold needs to be repaired four or five times in the first year of operation.

The supermarket in the district where I live looks like an enormous airline hangar. What does it deal in? I have made a study of it, and according to my estimate the list of goods is shockingly small – a mere 120 articles. But things would be less bad if the goods were in demand. Nothing of the kind; there are no more than 4–5 such articles in supply. These are the only things customers actually purchase, as can be seen from the half-empty trolleys in which they place them. The rest are goods that can find no market.

The disappearance of everyday customary products and brands, switching them over from the ranks of available goods to those in chronically short supply, is continuous, as if some hostile force were steadily and persistently carrying it out.

The worst thing is to get accustomed to something, be it a brand of cigarettes or a type of soap or a grade of shaving cream, razors, the colour of the ink in a ball-point pen, an eau-de-cologne or a toothpaste. Familiar scents give you a sense of security, your usual brand of cigarettes makes you cough less... Forget, forget, forget, get what is available, if you can find anything at all.

We have become unaccustomed to the word "to buy." Now we are used to other words expressing something indefinite such as: "they are giving," "they have served," "they have delivered," "they have thrown it"... Who has delivered to whom? We say: "I've come by..." Do we have a trading system at all? No, we have a distribution system. It is not the goods that exist for us, but we who exist for the goods.

Another permanent headache of ours is the rising cost of living, with pay effectively remaining on the same level. Prices for goods and services are going up, despite the soothing figures made public by the statistics bodies.

The word "inflation" has been brought home to us (we used to read that they had it "over there," while what we had was "price regulation"). There has turned out to be no difference between the two. Yet, there is a difference since we forget about the other half of the equation when measures are taken to mitigate the effect of inflation. What I mean is an increase in wages, grants, and pensions to make up for what people have lost as a result of price rises, in line with worldwide practice. Economists have timidly begun to touch on the subject, and readers occasionally raise it in their letters to the editor, but there is no official response. To all intents and purposes, we have no control whatsoever over price hikes.

Coffee prices suddenly soared by a factor of five (I hear the crop has failed in Brazil), and petrol prices have always risen, and continue to do so, instead of going down with the end of the energy crisis.

As the market becomes saturated with a new commodity, prices for it are expected to go down. With us, however, things are different... I share the enthusiasm about the cooperative movement, hoping for the best, but a modest dinner without wine in a cooperative café costs me a week's salary.

We harboured the hope that they would compete with the state sector, that the market would be saturated and prices would go down. But the law of gravity here, too, seems to work the other way round. The state sector washes its hands, winds down and gives up its canteens, cafés and what have you to the co-op people.

In its present form, our planning system fails to work, has led us into a blind alley, and is not oriented to satisfying people's needs. What are the soap bubbles of the "overfulfilling of plans" for if the shelves are empty and the refrigerator, as people now joke, can only be filled by connecting it to the wireless? Triumphant reports cannot satisfy needs!

The cost accounting system now being introduced calls for a fundamentally new system of accounting, planning and price formation. But... it is possible by leaving everything just as it is, to raise prices and have bonus funds augmented! So wherein lies the difference between our producers and capitalists, who rake in profits "at any cost," spurning moral considerations... In

"Going, going, gone" – a mock auction sale of defective consumer goods – is the name of a Georgian TV programme started as part of a drive for high product quality.

order to curb these practices, a ruse is being suggested: let a higher commodity price value be carried over from numerator to denominator, and then the bonuses will work out in such a way that those who **lower** prices will get more!

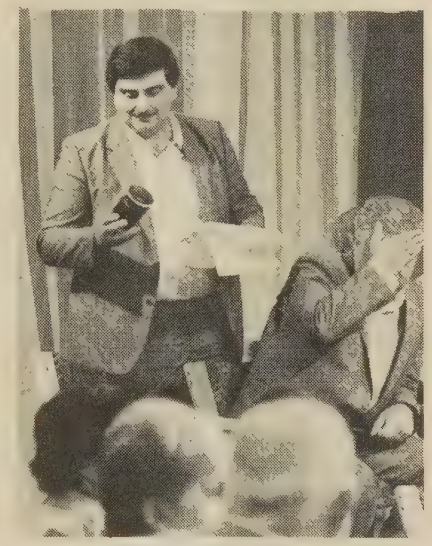
But our major complaint is that no one consults us, no one asks what we consumers want.

The word "consumer" itself was used in two different senses (and in their emotional and moral colouring they were opposites). Every plant produces something and consumes something. This plant is a consumer of parts, assemblies, raw materials, components. I once heard someone ask just before the endorsement of a standard: "And what does the consumer think?" No, he didn't mean us customers; he had the Trade Ministry in mind, given that they were talking about consumer goods.

The other meaning is pejorative. Consumer psychology... True, hedonism, a narrow view of things, luxury as a pivot of the universe, will not do credit to the intelligent and socially responsible person. But when a group of our prominent writers publishes a letter in the national press denouncing our tourists abroad for their enthusiasm for buying things there (more and cheaper), I personally am in two minds. No, I didn't like the look of all this fuss, the greedy eyes of my compatriots in foreign shops, with all the world looking askance at us on account of it. But are our people at fault that they cannot buy things they need with the money they have earned by the sweat of their brow at home? Isn't the reproach hypocritical?

For a long time our economists have concerned themselves in the main with the production sphere, regarding consumption as somehow secondary and "base." The consumer also has an economic function, a specific role in the production and distribution system. There is nothing base about it.

We are consumers of foodstuffs, clothing and housing, transport and medical services, water and air, culture and recreation facilities, tourism and entertainment, education and sport, libraries, parks and gardens, the whole urban environment. We are consumers of all that makes up a full life.



The label says "Jam," but the content is ketchup. Ivan Zhorzholiani, chief engineer of the Kutaisi Cannery, takes the blame.
TASS photo

Now our society is undergoing a revolutionary change, the economic mechanism is being reorganized, and the reforms are bound to have a healthy effect on the standard and quality of living. But we need a sober analysis of our objectives and an awareness of where we stand. There are a lot of myths in the assessment of consumption levels, and commodity and service prices.

Is it really true that our housing is almost the cheapest in the would, virtually free? The analyst of the U.S. economy Alexander Zaichenko (his comparative analysis will appear in the December issue of magazine The U.S.A. – economy, politics, ideology) shows that our urban worker has to toil on average one and a half times as much as the American worker does to pay for one square meter, even given our state subsidies. True, in the United States a family has to allow a little more than a quarter of its budget to pay for housing, but the number of rooms and the area cannot be compared with ours! Bread, meat and other foodstuffs are measured not only by their nominal prices but above all by the amount of time it takes the worker to earn the money to pay for them. To make the figures more attractive, our statisticians overestimate how much of that same meat is eaten by 1.5 times or so, including in the net weight such parts as fat, lard, and glandular meats, while American statistics disregard these; in fish we take tail and head into account, in poultry giblets; in the package we buy we later discover rotten fruit and vegetables, which are also taken into account.

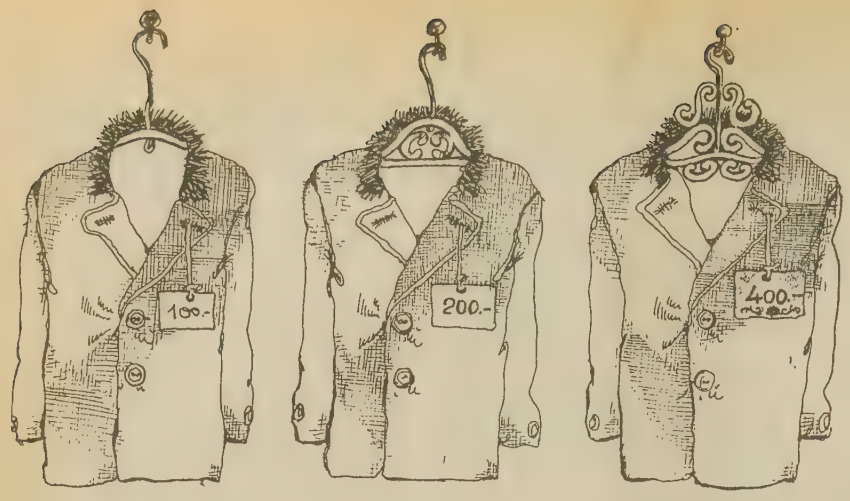
The hopeful consumer's soliloque

What are we consumers to do to make our existence felt? What must we do to have our preferences and tastes considered and our needs satisfied? And so that we can afford the prices...

I recall that in the 1950s Moscow University students staged a picket and began to boycott a canteen in the old building on Mokhovaya street. They paid dearly for their protest; they were all expelled and blacklisted, but the food got improved somewhat. A good idea, too; united we can do a lot.

Organized consumer movements function in all developed and many developing countries. I know there are also such organizations in Hungary and Yugoslavia, Poland and China... For more than twenty years I have been studying the movement in the United States, and have repeatedly suggested that we borrow from their experience, work to establish independent test labs, and print a consumer journal, and that our rights and interests be protected in the courts, before the bodies of legislative and executive power. These appeals fell on deaf ears, since the diktat of ministries and departments proved more than a match for them.

The current year has turned out to be a turning point. The newspaper Nedelya has sponsored a Consumer Club and won several lawsuits relating to repairs, exchanges, and payment of damages, and the newspaper also informs consumers on their rights... Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, Moskovskaya Pravda, Sovetskaya Torgovlya and Central Television have backed the initiative. Local clubs, groups and consumer organizations have begun to crop up everywhere, and the budding movement has found support in the Polit-



Drawing by Hillar Heinsalu

bureau, which is a sign of perestroika, indeed! We hope that from now on the dictatorship of the producer will be counterposed by the united consumer front, which will blend in with the new picture of socio-political life and advancing democracy.

A city consumers' organization has already been set up in Leningrad. It started out with six concrete programmes, among them food quality analysis (involving chemists, biologists, biochemists), a campaign against "creeping" price rises, "flushing out" cheap commodities, the ecological situation facing the city, as well as legal aid and advice, action in court... Reports from the organization will be published regularly in the newspaper Leningradsky Rabochy.

An important role in the movement will be played by trade unions and work collective councils at enterprises and organizations; consumer clubs are also being set up along territorial lines. There should be no strict regulations here; the grass-roots initiatives will serve as an antidote to any potential formalism, centralization or threat of bureaucratization. Fears of this kind were expressed by some readers of the magazine Soviet Trade Unions, in which I published an article clarifying some points of my concept of local consumer groups and clubs. Apprehension is understandable as a democratic movement such as this is new to us! In different towns and republics they are evolving their own ideals and initiatives...

The press has already reported on the setting up of the first consumer union at district level in Moscow. I took part in the constituent conference that adopted the charter for the organization. It had been discussed earlier in work collective councils at enterprises and organizations in Kalinin District, including the Moskabel Amalgamation and the Serp i Molot Plant; all in all 120 collectives had sent their representatives to the conference. The first thing the consumer union intends to do is to carry out sociological surveys which will help find out how well (or badly to be more exact) the population are provided with goods and services. Another issue is ecology, as in this district we have the dense concentration of industrial enterprises and, as a result, a high level of atmospheric pollution, and we need accurate data on this head. The union is attached to the Executive Committee and the information collected will be submitted to the deputies to the Soviet for discussion and concrete decisions, which will ensure the efficient functioning of the union. Interest in the initiative has been shown by executive committees and the public in other districts of the capital, while the telephone of A. Alekseyev, a co-organizer of the union, is constantly engaged: "I have no time for work," he complains, "and everyone expects clarification from us." There is no reference literature as yet, and no one knows what to begin with.

What is to be done, indeed?

I will attempt to describe the way I, "an angry consumer" like all of us, but also a dreamer, see the future of the movement.

From the outset we should avoid formalism in our work; everything should be done on a voluntary basis, without any bureaucratic personnel. The strength of any democratic movement lies in its mass character, in the search for directions best suited to local conditions. If the town has a scientific and student element, it is possible to carry out qualified expert research, inspections, and sociological surveys, but in a small town too there is always room for activity. For example, consumers could take control of the local trade and service system, or enlist the help of the local newspaper. If criticism in the press proves ineffective, consumers could take stronger measures to protest against ecological pollution or against the supply of inferior products hazardous to life or health.

We should raise "an educated consumer" who knows his rights and duties. For example, we all need to economize on electric energy and water, and learn to use stale bread too... And to be intelligent in running the family budget, rational in our diet, despite shortages so as not to grow obese or fall ill, and rear healthy children. This kind of education after the fashion of other countries should be started as early as at school, and this requires the appropriate learning aids, which should be compiled as soon as possible.

A nationwide organization will appear in due course, but its objective is not so much the formal direction of the movement. Simply the central headquarters will have the best laboratories, where it will be possible to test the whole range of products available on the market to detect the poorest quality goods, products that are unreliable, uneconomical and hazardous (and initiate a demand to stop producing them, or send some of them back to rectify an inbuilt defect), as well as to identify the best quality potentially award-winning goods (and facilitate the expansion of their production).

This kind of organization will not have the powers of a government body; it will not be able to permit or ban, punish or reward. But its voice will be heeded by government bodies, and it will have the right to advance for discussion draft laws, rules, and standards with a view to helping the consumer. I think that no important decision with a beating on consumer interests will be made without due consideration of the findings of the "consumer expert inspection," carried out by an organization that enlists the help of the country's leading scientists. The inspection could include questions of price reform or the building of industrial complexes, their deployment, safety of both their production and of their product or medical care, the size of pensions, or cultural services... People's deputies will certainly take an interest in the problem and will be trying to win the electorate over to their side by their vigorous action in favour of the consumer. Soviets at all levels will have consumer commissions established, and their meetings to discuss the burning problems of the day will be televised. It is not improbable that in due course we shall feel the need to establish a special fully-fledged government body which will have the authority to punish and forbid; here again I proceed from the experience of other countries. But this is as yet a matter for the future; what we need now is to organize consumers.

This movement gives us all the chance to do something useful and necessary for society; not simply to pay single dues for the maintenance of bureaucrats but to try to change things by our own efforts. We have waited for it for so long!

■

Junior world

Attention, criminologists

How many times must one kill to be a murderer? Once is quite enough. How many times must one behave viciously to be recognized as a scoundrel? Again once is enough. How many blunders must one publish or pronounce in public to be...

Till the end of my days I shall remember how several textbooks on literature were presented for discussion at the Union of Soviet Writers. These books had been printed in a small series of 40,000 copies for approbation. The one given to me said that Ostap Bender (the sly trickster from the two popular novels by Ilya Ilf and Evgeny Petrov) at the end of his career repented of his ill-doing and returned to honest toil, as evidenced by his words: "It's time I took up house management." When invited to comment on the textbook, I said that there was nothing to discuss, but that one thing was imperative: to make up a list of those who compiled the book and make sure none of them get anywhere near a school again.

My point of view was not accepted. It might have seemed extreme at the time, though such words were not in vogue then. A campaign against arbitrary practice was under way.

This incident came back to me not long ago, when I got hold of the new synopsis on the social sciences for teachers. It hardly needs explaining that a paper of this kind is a most important school document in present-day conditions.

I shall neither commend nor criticize the synopsis, I'll just cite a few examples from it: "...questions that require reference to present-day processes and phenomena in the first portion of the course are viewed from the angle of revealing the role of philosophy, with account taken of the fact that in subsequent chapters they will be dealt with more thoroughly and in greater detail."

I took the trouble to phone to the publishers: are you people crazy? The response was unexpectedly bitter. "We left this rubbish deliberately," they told me. "We're sick and tired of the illiteracy of textbooks on methodics. Let everyone see it."

I am not sure that the vindictive publishers were right to do so. What I am sure of is that the "angle of revealing the role of..." alone is enough to label the authors... Silence! Extremism is not in vogue today either. It is fashionable, though, to speak at length about juvenile delinquents and, horrified, seek the reasons for the rise in crime. As to the synopses, ah, that's so insignificant, it doesn't deserve the attention of serious people.

However, I shall always maintain that to assign the writing of books to people capable of once concocting a phrase like "...the angle of revealing the role" is nothing short of murder, pure and simple, and the bureaucrat's hands are stained with blood. That is so because such programmes, lessons, talks and textbooks alienate children from studying and imbue them with hostility towards education. And a clever one would flee the school in which Ostap Bender repents of his ill-doing. The question is, where to flee? What kind of company will he find himself in? What will he do there? It's a very short distance from the "angle of revealing the role" to the serious collapse altogether.

The journal Maths at School carried in its first issue this year a contest-winning textbook on maths which starts with the words: "I am your textbook. I believe we will be good friends."

All right. I took this textbook-turned-friend to a group of fourth formers. I had to go to no end of trouble to explain to them the meaning of the following: "The value of the unknown factor at which the equation turns into a valid equality is called the root of the equation." Two or perhaps three thousand schoolchildren in the country will certainly give up studying after reading this, with all the ensuing consequences. "In fact," says the textbook, "the path covered is equal to the product of the speed by the time in motion (given that during equal time lapses the automobile covers equal parts of the path i.e., the motion is uniform). What does it mean? I asked three times running. One of the children said: "It's clear: the distance from Leningrad to Moscow is the same that the distance from Moscow to Leningrad."

That is how he understood the rule. The others remained silent.

Why explain things in this way? To develop minds? To make maths interesting for little ones? No. Phrases like that make the text sound scientific and secure the author from the criticism of colleagues. But what is in it for pupils? What is in it for teachers? Especially when a rare teacher is capable of explaining the notion of the uniform motion in more comprehensible terms. Again we come to this: many lives will be manacled in the name of excessive precision. I don't really want to be excessively critical of the authors of this textbook on math, as they are not the worst offenders, but very often "friendly" textbooks turn treacherous and killing.

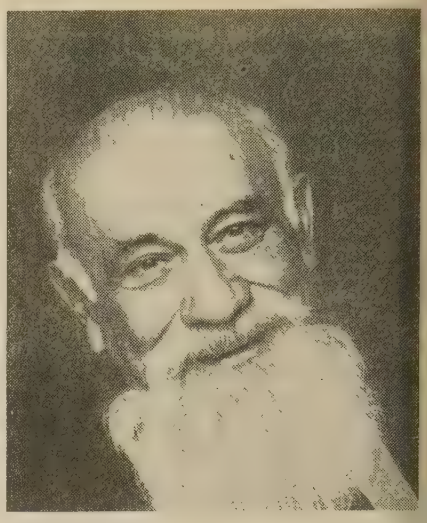
I also took a look at the Russian-language textbook for 10-year-olds. It was a new edition brought out this year, expanded and revised. I may have been unfortunate, but the first thing to catch my attention was the following: "The infinitive. Our goal is to build communism." Good Lord! I turned the pages: "The lilacs are blossoming" (predicate).

Criminologists, beware! You are looking for the roots of juvenile delinquency in the wrong place! While we waste time talking, the lilacs blossom and stupidity flourishes (predicate) and children flee school as they do the plague.

Simon Soloveichik

Away from home

Lev Kopelev's hopes and doubts



Lev Kopelev, Professor of German Philology and History, is one of those who have been driven out of the Soviet Union in recent decades. A Soviet Army officer during World War II he fought his way to Berlin. Later he was arrested on the strength of a false denunciation and served a ten-year prison term. After his release, Kopelev did much translation and studied German literature. In 1980 he and his wife, author Raissa Orlova, went to the F.R.G. on the invitation of Heinrich Böll, and two months later both of them were stripped of their Soviet citizenship for "behavior unworthy of a Soviet citizen." What was meant was Kopelev's opposition to the practices of the stagnation period. When I was in Bonn, I contacted Kopelev in Cologne and asked him for an interview. "Please come," he said, – "it will be my first interview with a Soviet journalist for many years."

New Times. *Surrounded by books and scientific surveys, as if in an ivory tower, you look like a scholar detached from the trivia of the world. What kind of information about the Soviet Union is available here, and what is your assessment of the developments at home?*

Lev Kopelev. For two years my wife and I have been eagerly reading Moscow newspapers and magazines. We have subscribed to the Literaturnaya Gazeta, Ogonyok, Novy Mir, Druzhba Narodov and Znamya. Friends share what they have with us, for example, Oktyabr and the Literaturnoye Obozrenie. I also buy Pravda and Izvestia at the station. Back home we never read these publications with such interest. I must admit that reading diverts much of my attention from work...

News from home fill us with a mixed feeling of hope and doubt, joy and sorrow. For us men of letters spiritual aspects of a nation's life are of the utmost importance. What is going on now has no precedent in history. Since the 1920s I have been a most attentive reader, but I can't say I remember anything like this when it comes to the scale and the profundity of the critical reappraisal of the past, and – recently – of the present too. I well remember discussion leaflets of 1927, but they can't be compared to present-day events. Today everything is being discussed on a new level, more thoroughly and profoundly. For me these facts are a further confirmation of the idea I had conceived in Moscow and first put forward in my most important book, "Power and the People." This is the idea that the history of the state and the history of the national culture are altogether different things, which can of course intersect, sometimes merge or be identified by human naivety, but which nevertheless are quite different things. States and parties as political forces come and go, their existence is confined to decades, whereas nations with their cultural history live for millennia.

The process that we are now witnessing in Russia is a very specific one. There is a proverb that goes: "A fish starts to rot from the head." Social recovery in the Soviet Union has been initiated at the top – "the whale has started recovering from the head" – but the efforts of the leadership are unlikely to be adequate without the support of the people...

There is much that we rejoice at. There are many joys and many discoveries. For example, I first listened to Akhmatova's "Requiem" in 1961 when Mrs Nadezhda Mandelstam took me to the poet's house in one of the old streets of Moscow. I sat with my eyes fixed on Akhmatova, though I made every effort not to stare. She said: "I shall read to you now, but please, no notes." Then she recited her famous poem. I was spellbound and asked her to read it again. After that I screwed up my courage and told her: "Had the 'Requiem' been your only poem, you would still have been the greatest poet of the century."

Akhmatova didn't seem surprised to hear these words. She was not spoiled by praise, but she always knew what she was worth. I wanted to kneel and kiss her dress. Lydia Chukovskaya says no more than ten people knew the "Requiem" by heart. I confess my meanness: as soon as I left the flat I started putting down the lines I remembered... Today "Requiem" has been published in full, the poem is read from the stage, broadcast over the radio... That is a joy, a real triumph. It exists and there is no way it can be driven back to the past. Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Platonov, Pasternak, Mandelstam, Dombrovsky and Grossman have returned to Soviet literature.

Speaking of Grossman, I would like to tell you that a special charity fund was set up in the F.R.G. to raise money for the publication of his now famous novel in German. We called the fund "East-West" (a line from Goethe). Heinrich Böll, together with other well-known writers, is a member of the management board. Twenty-five thousand marks were donated to the fund, and thanks to these donations Grossman's novel appeared in 1982. We also decided to help writers who are refused publication at home. Many deserving books have thus appeared in the German translation, among them Chukovskaya's reminiscences of Akhmatova, two novels by Kornilov, etc. The board meets once a year at the annual International Book Fair in Frankfort-on-Main. This year's convention was rather hectic – we were confronted with an unexpected problem: most of the books we considered serious and important are now freely published in the East. Such "troubles" are to be welcomed.

N.T. *Members of your foundation could find themselves unemployed some day.*

L.K. Yes, the danger does exist. But since our fund is working and substantially and reliably assisted, I suggested that its activity be modified: for example, we could venture to publish an information bulletin with abstracts from new Soviet publications, works appearing in Eastern Europe, critical reviews, literary chronicles.

Coming back to what we've been discussing, I can say that the processes under way in the cultural life of Russia make us happy. We've waited for far too long. It's marvellous.

As for my doubts and misgivings, they are understandable. Freedom is universal, it applies to everybody. One can't but be alarmed by the developments in the Transcaucasian regions. The reports from Sumgait were horrifying. On the other hand, the flourishing of the Pamyat

ociety and similar organizations are also erceived as dangerous...

Reports of the shortage of consumer oods and staple food also upset us. The iumph of the spiritual is a great thing, ut even without indulging in vulgar aterialism one understand that there an hardly be real cultural progress when eople are hungry... Our attention was ri-eted by the reports of organized crime in zbekistan, Kazakhstan and Central ussia. Rumours about it did reach us, ut now we have been able to read a ank and convincing account of the ac-ial events in the newspapers...

That is why I wish Gorbachev every uccess. I think he is finding it hard, but e is continuing his efforts with vigour, nd today evidence of profound changes ounds. It is very important for me that y wife has been allowed to visit Mos-ow.

N.T. *Are you going to visit Moscow urself?*

L.K. Of course I'll come if they invite e. Akhmatova wrote: "Wolves' field, ilow straw. One lives in freedom, but es at home." It's time I thought of that o, after all I'm already 76. Certainly I ve no special conditions for my omecoming, but I must finish my work. I m already working on the third volume my research.

N.T. *Could you tell us about your work greater detail?*

L.K. It is a fundamental study of Rus-an-German contacts, of what the Rus-ans thought of Germany and what the ermans thought of Russia. It is my Wuppertal project," as we call it, and, by e way, it's the source of my income... ermany as seen by Russians and Rus-a as seen by Germans in the course of a illennium. We plan to compile an eight-olume treatise.

As a student, some 50 years ago or ore, I dreamed of writing a book, "Rus-a and Russians in German Literature." I as greatly impressed by the fact that it as the German poet Paul Fleming who st wrote verse about Moscow (and not nly Moscow – he wrote about Nov-orod, about the Volga and the Oka riv-rs). That was three and a half centuries go, in 1637-1638. After my release the st thing I did was to translate Fleming's onnet, and it was published in Ogonyok. trictly speaking, I was not the first to un-ertake the translation. The Russian poet umarokov had already done it in the iddle of the 18th century). Later I alized that the history of Russo-Ger-an ties is not work for one man. We ave been writing these books for six ears. There are five of us – I am the ditor and compiler.

N.T. *What periods of history does the st volume cover?*

L.K. The book ends on the eve of WW I, i.e., in 1914. This year is a critical point in history. Again a line of Akhmatova's comes to mind: "The real 20th century was coming..." Moreover, we published a supplementary of a sort. For example, this year we published a volume named "Germany and Russia in Poetry: 1900-1933." Included in this book are poems by Blok, Tretyakov, Kirsanov, Sasha Cherny, Khodasevich, Akhmatova... Very different poets. Of course one can't say we followed the chronological principle very strictly. Akhmatova, for one, did not write anything about Germany in the specified period of time, but her small poem "Faust from Afar" (1945) seems inalienable from the book.

Many years of comparative studies in German and Russian literature have led me to a simple conclusion: no country but Russia inspired so many German writers: Paul Fleming, Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Heinrich Böll, Johannes Bobrowski, Anna Seghers... Thomas Mann said Russian literature was sacred.

On the other hand, no country but Russia gave the world such writers as Zhukovsky, who used to call himself a Russian German, or Turgenev, or Tsvetayeva, who wrote: "Germany is my madness,Germany is my love," or Pasternak... Spiritual contacts between our peoples have existed in spite of everything. These contacts make up the theme of our book. This undertaking is very dear to me, so even if I settle in Moscow for good, I'll have to shuttle between Moscow and Cologne...

N.T. *What is your assessment of modern Russian literature abroad? Soviet readers know next to nothing about it...*

L.K. Very often the question arises: can we regard Russian literature abroad as a closed system? Many of my colleagues here have told me that in the Soviet Union only official literature exists, while the genuine literature is here.

During my first two years in the West I tried to associate with the Russians living here. I even attended some congresses in Paris, Vienna and other places. Later my contacts with émigré circles grew weaker and weaker. This of course does not apply to friends, Georgy Vladimov, for example. The late Victor Nekrasov was also a good friend of mine. I'm on quite friendly terms with Andrei Sinyavsky. But I soon lost interest in émigré get-togethers. I can say the same of the émigré press, except the Munich-based Forum and the Paris-based Sintaksis. Other publications have a clear-cut attitude: there is a free Russian literature in the West, but in the Soviet Union literature is oppressed and conformist, if it exists at all. These assertions are utterly absurd. In a sense they are just the same as what we were taught, but vice versa: émigré literature means counterrevolution and capitalism, and don't you dare touch it. Both extremes are of course stupid. Bunin and Tvardovsky, Nabokov and Paustovsky belong to one literature. There are no "closed systems." I don't mention Akhmatova, Pasternak and Mandelstam, whose works are published in the West earlier and more fully. It is one great literature. When arguing with some of my colleagues, I often say, here we have talented writers, but **literature** is there, literary life is there, the readers are there. This is an unescapable fact. It can't be otherwise. It's quite natural for people to think differently. Herzen and Dostoyevsky had very different views, but both of them belong to Russian literature. Chekhov and Blok professed entirely different ideas of the world, but both of them belong to one literature. What we see today is a similar process.

A dramatic reappraisal of values is under way, and many names are coming back from oblivion. Arguments and discussions are going on in Moscow kitchens and here alike. Good books and bad books are written in Paris and in Vologda alike. Who is working most successfully here? I don't consider myself a critic, but I'll voice my opinion. Vladimov is a very prolific writer, his novel, "The General and His Army" is likely to make an event in Russian literature. To date only extracts have been published. His work is agonizingly difficult, he rewrites one and the same chapter many times. But his is really outstanding prose. The late Nekrasov worked very productively as well. His last collected works, his "A Short, Sad Novella" is good prose. Josef Brodsky is a wonderful poet, no matter what people might think of him as a man. A poet's life is always more difficult. Voinovich is a very talented writer, but now he is absorbed in newspaper satire. Another prolific writer is Sinyavsky, whose book on Rozanov and "Goon Night" are remarkable. A very interesting book is his "In the Shadow of Gogol," which enraged Solzhenitsyn and many others. It's the story of a talent corrupted by ideology. The book is audacious. I can't agree with everything in it, but it is a glittering piece of prose full of talent and wit.

N.T. *Do Russian writers living abroad have any difficulties in finding readers?*

L.K. Of course such difficulties exist and it is very upsetting for everyone. But one shouldn't really think of them – otherwise you won't be able to write. We also have our readers. The Paris-based Russkaya Mysl has a circulation of some 500 copies, Novoye Russkoye Slovo in New York has a bigger circulation, but it is still not sufficient... If one is a genuine writer, if writing is one's life, then the absence of readers is a torment. But one shouldn't think of it. One must write for the sake of the written word, be possessed by the word...

Interviewer
ALEXEI BUKALOV
COLOGNE – MOSCOW

The election of **Otto Graf Lambsdorff** as chairman of the Free Democratic Party has evoked a contradictory reaction in the Federal Republic of Germany. Four years ago he was compelled to resign as federal minister of economics after having been charged with corruption (granting major tax concessions to the Flick company in exchange for "donations" to the party's fund).

The investigation to establish the degree of guilt of Lambsdorff and other high-ranking members of the government in the Flick affair lasted for several years. The court repudiated the bribe charge preferred against Lambsdorff. He was merely fined 180,000 marks for tax evasion.

Otto Lambsdorff, born in 1926, fought in the second world war and was seriously wounded on the Eastern Front. After the war he was awarded the degree of LL.D. and worked as a consultant and member of the supervisory councils of different companies and banks. In 1977 he received the portfolio of minister of economics in the Helmut Schmidt cabinet and played a significant part in the break-up of the governmnent coalition between the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democrats.

In his capacity as FDP Chairman Lambsdorff has declared that he does not seek ministerial office and will make every effort to unite the party.

* * *

General **James Abrahamson,** 55, has resigned as head of the "star wars" programme. A Pentagon spokesman rejected the suggestion that the

general left because of the failure of the programme. Abrahamson was picked to head SDI in 1984. Before that he ran the space Shuttle programme and was a manager of the Air Force's F-16 programme.

"From the Reagan administration's perspective, he was good in getting the programme going, " a Pentagon

The most widespread name

Natalya and Tatiana Ivanova have made themselves a name in the journalistic and literary world. What unites them, however, is not their shared surname. Each article written by Natalya or Tatiana becomes a sort of sensation.

Natalya Ivanova is an associate editor of the magazine Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of Peoples). Though she presented her thesis for a candi-

date of science's degree, she preferred literary criticism to research. Today literary criticism is not only a means of evaluating literature but an arena of the struggle of political ideas, Natalya thinks. In general, literature, and literary criticism as a component of it, have been extremely ideologized. The critic explains what the writer has kept back.

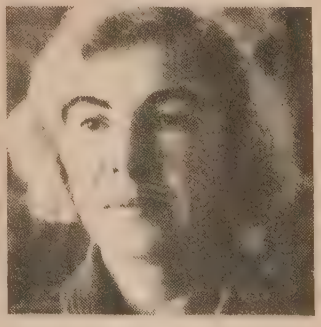
"Talent, like the soul, has no sex, and I do not think there is 'female' and 'male' literature, there is only talented and dull literature, " Natalya says. "The more active part played by women, compared with men, in journalism reflects a general phenomenon connected with the democratization of society. Some writers find this situation objectionable and try to compensate for their lack of arguments and education with a caustic and scornful address to women critics as criticasters."

How does Natalya react to the frequent sallies against her?

"I react like Ivan Bunin (a Russian writer), who used to say: 'I am not a gold coin everyone would like to have.' Unfortunately, the men who engage in polemics with me often reveal bad traits in their character.

"My 14-year-old daughter is a safety valve for me," Natalya says. "She thinks we talk about literature so much that the time has come to take an interest in something else. I try to discuss all problems with her, from archeology to break dancing.

Tatiana Ivanova began her journalistic career at the age of 15. She made a name for herself before perestroika, when the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya carried her reviews, in which the table of ranks usual for the Union of Soviet Writers



was not observed: neither prizes nor ranks held by writers protected them from the critical darts of Tatiana Ivanova. After 1985 she, like other progressive critics, was given the opportunity to contribute to the magazines Ogonyok, Znamya and Knizhnoye Obozrenie.

"Over the past ten years I have subscribed to about 30 national and provincial literary magazines and have re them most carefully. I try write my reviews hones Being a staunch Commun I consider it my duty popularize what he pepestroika and expo what hinders it," Tatia says.

Some think that Tatia Ivanova is a malicious criti

"I am indeed a sarcas woman," she agrees. "I lik joke and do not alw realize the strength of blow. The attitudes of m critics to me differ. Th who contribute to magazines Nash Sovrem nik, Molodaya Gvardia Moskva constantly hold up to abuse, while the tivists of the Pamyat soc are always threatening Other critics treat me tlently and condescendin I receive a lot of good lett and all my bookcases packed with them. My year-old son reads the let with me. He knows all literary affairs and un stands me completely.

Elena Zher

onsultant said. "He had imginative new ideas and he pread a lot of money around o a lot of places to build up a onstituency for the progamme. But when the time ame to pull everything toether and face up to the udgetary constraints and the olitical constraints on deloyment, he was not a top nanager. In that respect it is a retty timely change."

Most specialists believe that SDI is now in a financial crisis. But it is not just a question of noney. SDI is also experienng a moral crisis: instead of he anti-missile defence promsed by Reagan, it is now planed to build a defence for misiles.

* * *

At a recent ceremony in Berin, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, presented **Edgar Bronfman,** President of the World Jewish Congress, with the order of the Great Star of

Friendship of the Peoples for his contribution to the cause of peace in the spirit of humanism and anti-fascism.

Edgar Miles Bronfman, born in 1929 in Montreal, graduated from Montreal University in 1951 with a BA in history. The World Jewish Congress, which Bronfman has headed for the past seven years, was founded in Geneva in 1936. It has brought together Jewish organizations, communities and institutions from 66 countries.

In Berlin, Edgar Bronfman took a look at the life of the Jewish community to which the WJC is going to give every support. On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the nazi massacre and looting of Jews – an event to be marked in the German Democratic Republic – Bronfman saw for himself that much is being done in the republic to perpetuate the memory of the victims of nazism and that the Jews can freely profess their religion and live a full-blooded cultural life.

Bronfman said he was particularly satisfied with the G.D.R.'s agreement to pay reparations to the victims of nazism. "What is important is not the amount of the reparations, because it is a token sum, but their moral value," he stressed. "The German Democratic Republic has agreed to resolve the matter positively, and that is most important for us."

* * *

Egil Aarvik, the 76-year-old Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, appears on the world scene twice a year, first to proclaim a new winner of the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize and then to present him or her with a diploma and a

cheque for a six-figure sum. This year the prize has been awarded to the United Nations troops, and the presentation ceremony will, as usual, take place on December 10. The Nobel Committee's decision was on the whole welcomed, though there were some critics.

Starting his career as a preacher, Aarvik worked later as a journalist on a Christian newspaper, and as a minister. But the main interest in his life was parliamentary activity, which culminated in his election as chairman of the lower chamber of the Storting.

On retiring, Aarvik began to work in the Nobel Committee, becoming its chairman in 1981.

"We five members of the committee are elected by the Norwegian parliament," Aarvik says. From 80 to 100 reputable candidates to the award are usually nominated to the position by February 1, the deadline for applications. The committee thoroughly considers each candidate, and a final decision is taken only after a consensus has been reached. Recently confidence in the United Nations and its peacekeeping efforts has been growing in the world. A special part in these efforts is played by the U.N. troops. For that reason we thought it would be just to do an honour to the U.N. troops and award the 1988 Prize to it in keeping with the will of Alfred Nobel."

Alexander Polyukhov,
our own correspondent
STOCKHOLM

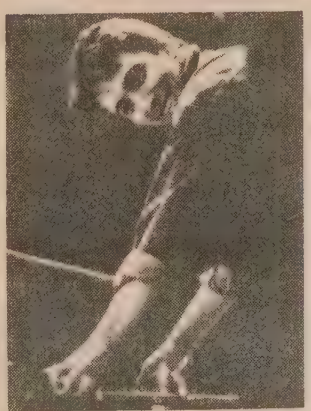
he inventor of "pop-mechanic"

Sergei Kurekhin, a 34-ear-old improvisor and anist, is the founder of the and Popular Mechanic. ome believe him to be a enius and other a hooligan. till others regard him as one the most talented avantarde composers of our time.

Fifteen records of his combsitions have already been eleased abroad, and a record ith his participation was reently issued in the Soviet nion. Halls are sold out for op Mechanic performances. he band has also been inted on concert tours abroad.

Kurekhin composed the usic for Savva Kulish's film Tragedy Rock-Style," and a ocumentary with his particiation, called "Dialogues," as been released. Leningrad V has screened "Music ing," shot a year earlier.

Sergei is considered a enius by numerous inemagoers, stage directors



and many representatives of the avant-garde. But some composers regard him as a hooligan because, they say, his performances and music are a mockery of art, the product of a morbid imagination.

Having mastered all musical forms, Kurekhin uses them as symbolic elements for the expression of his ideas. This applies in particular to Pop Mechanic. Well-known jazz and rock musicians, foreign ones among them, different orchestras and bands, krishnaites and animals take part in its performances. All musical genres have their natural places in performances: rock invigorates, jazz embodies refined aesthetics, serious music and folklore symbolize traditional musical romance, while parodies of stereotyped musical kitsches amuse audiences.

In the 19th century the creative work of artists, composers and writers was usually recognized after their deaths. Today some of them outlive their own success. In the meantime, the creative work of Kurekhin is swelling the ranks of both his fans and his bitter opponents.

Yuri Shevtsov

Bridge, legalized in the U.S.S.R.

It's hard to surprise Leningrad these days with the variety of new clubs catering to special interests that are being opened. But even among the most unexpected of them, the Bridge club, seemingly impossible only yesterday, stands out.

The very word "bridge" means nothing to a great many people – so long ago was it pushed deep underground. It's true that you will find some who have heard of it, but for an unprepared person it sounds like a criminal activity: after all, it is a card game, and where there are playing cards, who knows what else there may be...

Origin: China

I visited the club, which had found a home under the roof of the Railway Workers' Palace of Culture. And I must admit that though I scanned the place with an eagle eye for any signs of depravity, there was none to be seen. On the contrary, I would say that I had not come across a more decorous, good-natured and welcoming group of people for a long time. Even youngsters who were obviously students were as restrained as professors. As for the professors themselves, well, you can easily imagine them...

But I feel I must mention one of them. Apparently, like most graduates of technical colleges, in my studies I used the textbook written by his father, Harald Natanson, Professor of Mathematics at Leningrad State University, an eminent theoretician whose special field is the theory of functions. Before describing my conversation with him, I should like briefly to recapitulate the history of playing cards. It was summed up for me by one of the founders of the club, Vitold Brushtunov, who works at Lenfilm studios.

The origin of playing cards, he said, goes back a long way. According to some sources, they appeared in China in the 10th century, and were used both for playing and as a form of payment instead of money. Therefore, from the outset cards were linked with money. They then spread fairly rapidly throughout the world, and were a conspicuous feature of social and cultural life. In the process of their evolution the variety of card games not only increased, but could be said to have divided into two classes. The lower class was games where the winner was the one who held the highest card. For instance, the famous faro in which Hermann sought his luck. In such games you only have to guess correctly, not think. In addition to the primitive games, there are other of much higher intellectual standing, where the outcome depends on your abilities. To this class belongs the English game Whist, and the Vint popular in Russia in the last century. At the turn of the century, Bridge was developed as a combination of Whist and Vint, incorporating the best features of both games. A new and highly intellectual game was born.

Why do people rave about Bridge? It would be a hopeless task to sum up the rules in a few lines – the game is far too complicated. I'll just mention one thing. Bridge is usually played by two foursomes, each at its own table. And after each rubber, the packs of cards are exchanged. So conditions are always equal. Chance is ruled out and everything depends on how good a Bridge player you, and your partner, are.

That is what attracts people to Bridge. I have already mentioned that it attracts people of all ages. And, I should add, of all professions. Among the club's members there are representatives of the exact sciences and the humanities. That's all to the good, as it enables us to look at the game from all viewpoints and find the answers to all questions. To start with, for example, Bridge in its present form evolved in the 1920s – but when did it become known to people born at about the same time?

"I started playing Bridge probably somewhere round 1960, when I was forty," replied Professor Natanson. "Before that, as a student, I played chess, chequers and was even a candidate of sport. I also played cards – Preference...

"For money? Or perhaps it would be better to pass over that aspect?"

"Why? Preference is always played for money. Though the stakes do not have to be high. We kept them low. Then one fine day our group broke up: someone had found a book on Bridge and all interest in Preference was lost. We started playing Bridge. First we played at home and then began taking part in tournaments."

I tried to bring the conversation around to the connection between a person's professional interests and card games, but Professor Natanson refused to follow my lead, saying that there was no sense in simplification or parallels, although the line of thought in solving mathematical problems and playing Bridge are fairly similar.

"Have you tried using a computer?" I asked the professor.

"There's no point," he replied. "Unlike chess, Bridge cannot yet be computerized."

Your deal, Grandmaster...

Such a scientific view of a card game has probably come as surprise to many people. But it is no les interesting to take a look at Bridge from another angle – as a sport. In the club I met Irina Levitina, who is often referred to as the vice-world woman's chess champion.

"For obvious reasons," she told me, "I would prefer not to go on record as to which game is more difficult. Friends often joke that before I started playing Bridge I won the U.S.S.R. chess cham-

pionship only once, but afterwards I won it three times running. But that is a joke among friends, and hardly merits any conclusions being drawn from it. It would be better to state the indisputable: Bridge is the only intellectual game played by a team – there is no other. It is unique. The first international Bridge tournament between Britain and the U.S. was held in 1930. In the 1950s, continental Bridge leagues were formed, as was the World Bridge Federation, with the next largest membership after the Football and Chess federations. In the 1970s, there were already 80 million Bridge players worldwide. National tournaments in many countries are held at the highest level.

And so Bridge is a science, yet it is also a sport. Perhaps it is an art as well? The question was put ironically, but Brushtunov answered in all seriousness.

"Of course it is," confirmed Vitold Brushtunov, "if one admits of a military art, a pedagogical art. In a number of developed countries, for instance, Sweden, Poland, Denmark and Israel, educational pundits have introduced Bridge into the curriculum as either a compulsory or an optional subject. This is understandable, as the game provides work for the brain and encourages collectivism. Professional strategists also resort to Bridge as a subject in General Staff Academies.

So a pack of cards can be as good as a university? Then why do our home-grown guardians of morals frown on the game? That question brings us right back to the beginning. It is of course useless today to try and determine who, when and how all card games were proclaimed illegal – it was so long ago that no one remembers. But to this day the label remains and there are always people ready to associate cards with wine and women. But what does the law say on the subject?

"The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation," explained lawyer Yulia Reinova, "makes two mentions of games of chance. And nowhere does any article ban any card games, let alone Bridge."

That alone needs explaining. But first a few words about the term "games of chance" – from the vantage point of today it looks naive, to say the least. Any games that can be played for money can be described as games of chance. But one can bet on a game of table tennis, and even – excuse me – on who can spit farthest. Can money be the criterion? And then what about our lottery, Sprint, which depends on chance and where money is needed to buy a ticket? Or what about Sport-prognoz (something like the football pools)?

But to return to Bridge. It is the sole – and I underline sole – card game from which a profit cannot be made. Those

who have fat purses full of unearned money and gamble away endless sums at Black Sea resorts will never learn to play the game; it is too complicated for them. Professional card players who strip the rich could learn to play Bridge. But there is no sense, as they would have no clients. That is further confirmation of the fact that Bridge is just a game. In spirit it is very far from the Criminal Code – but much closer to the Olympic Code.

World champions lose

Summing up, one can only once again express surprise at the prejudices that "protected" us from Bridge for so many years by forcing it underground. Club veterans recall how they met at each other's flats, sitting in small kitchens on the end of suitcases or anything that came to hand. Yet those were serious tournaments with players from the Baltic states and other countries.

When you compare the present conditions - when there is a roof over your head and you can meet without any secrecy or shame with your hobby – you realize that a tremendous job has been done. You realize that the club's management has had to show real courage in opening the club. Of course that wonderful formula "everything is allowed that is not banned" has swept the country like wildfire, but prejudices die hard – and that reality has to be faced. So despite the pleasant changes, the members of the club are still not 100 per cent sure of their future: what if some top official decides to frown again? "Once bitten, twice shy" has become innate in us and our timidity persists. Probably I too have been overcautious in parts of my story, as if seeking to justify myself... It is only newborn babes who have none of these hangovers from the past.

But there is a better reason for surprise. It hardly needs saying that isolationism in any matter brings no good. Nevertheless Leningrad's Bridge players, although deprived of normal contacts with foreign competitors, have not fallen too far behind "world standards." I was told at the club that when a couple of years ago the world champions attended a tournament in Tallinn, our team won first place (with the champions not figuring among the prizewinners at all). Naturally that does not mean their triumph will last them a lifetime, they will have to fight for new victories. But now they can!

Since playing cards have been made respectable again, why not indulge in a little dreaming? Supposing that after the legalization of clubs the next step is taken and a Bridge Federation set up? If by that time today's expert players are not too old, one can count on their repeating their results.

Mikhail Kushnir

Drawings by Nikolai Shcherbakov

Peter the Great relics in Zaandam

A mystery waiting to be unravelled

Larisa Isarova

Before visiting Zaandam, we were taken to see some old windmills, and then they showed us round cheese dairies and shoemakers' shops where traditional Dutch wooden clogs are produced. I was overwhelmed with impatience, but still I did my best to arouse the spirit of inquiry that never left Peter. Alas, these reminders of the Dutch history evoked reverence, but not admiration. I realized at last that Peter was interested in everything new, not in relics of the past, though today the old and the new seem to have merged so much that one finds it difficult to distinguish between them.

Maria, a Russian wartime DP, once ran the museum. She married a Dutchman, moved to Holland and gave birth to a girl. Today her daughter runs Peter's House in Maria's place. She speaks Russian, though not without a slight accent, and is always ready to welcome Russians there.

We got off the bus in a small lane and headed for the museum along a narrow passage. It is the oldest wooden house in Holland. In fact all that has survived of it are the rooms where Peter stayed, this part of the house now being protected by a stone superstructure built at the request of tsar Nicholas II.

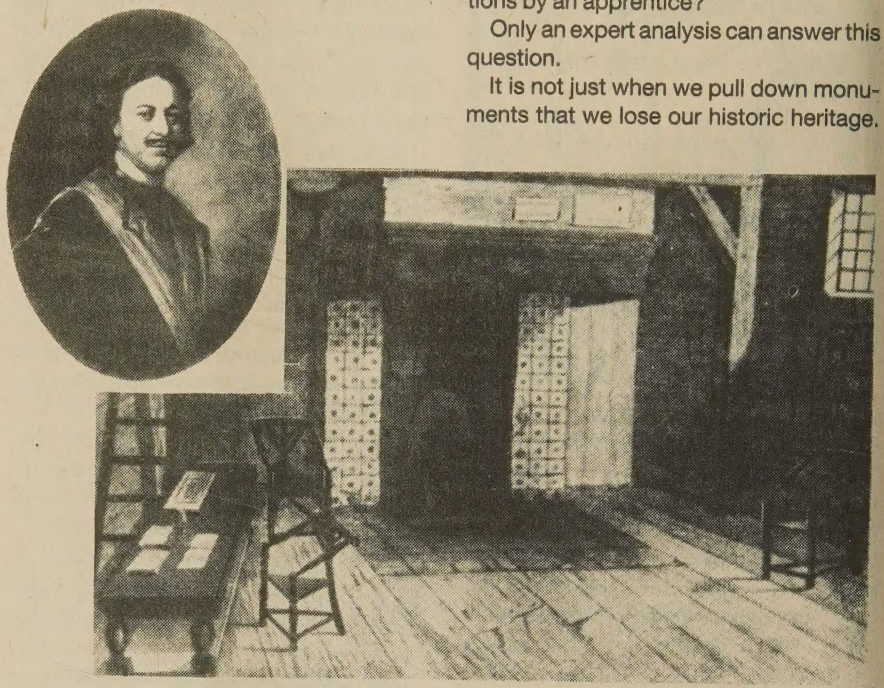
"...Early on the morning of August 18, 1697, Peter the Great, under the alias of Pyotr Mikhailov, came to Zaandam. In the crowd of those who gathered to meet him, the tsar recognized one Gerrit Kist, who had worked for him in Russia, and decided to put up at his modest house..."

The only genuine articles in the museum are the tiles, the fireplace and the closet-cum-bed in which Peter slept. The bed is so short that the tsar could only sleep in it curled up.

The sight of this bed impressed Napoleon so much that he scribbled an odd inscription in Russian on the wall (though it might be a clumsy translation): "Nothing is small for a grand man." Today these words have a lengthy translation: "For a truly great man, nothing is too small..."

Suddenly I caught sight of two small, faded portraits in the old style of painting. They represented Peter and his wife Catherine.

I asked who painted them and learned that the portraits had been presented by Peter to Gerrit Kist; as for the painter, he is unknown. The dim light obscured the portraits, but even so the unusual, informal method of painting the faces leapt to the eye. Peter's face – neither old nor young – is tensely ironic. He is clad in armour, with a purple cloak draped over his shoulders (most uncharacteristic dress for him). Catherine's face is conventional: small raisin-like eyes, intricate hairdo, luxurious dress, imposingly folded arms.



Peter's House in Zaandam

Russian tsars tried to commemorate their visits to Peter's House. None of them thought of preserving it for future generations, and nor did Anna, the wife of the Crown Prince of the Netherlands and a great granddaughter of Peter the Great, who received the house in 1818 as a gift from Wilhelm I.

Who is to run the house now and in future? It is tiring for the dear old lady who met us there; she can't do research or hunt for memoirs, or portraits of Kist and his contemporaries – those who saw Peter alive and won his favour.

Back in Moscow I studied a lot of albums and books of portraits of Peter, looking for the name of the unknown painter. The Zaandam portraits couldn't be the work of an amateur.

At last the name appeared – Arnold Boonen. His portraits have long been in a private collection in the U.S. The painter's apprentice Matveyev, who was assigned to Boonen by the will of Catherine, copied her portrait to prove his skill. But his work has been lost as well.

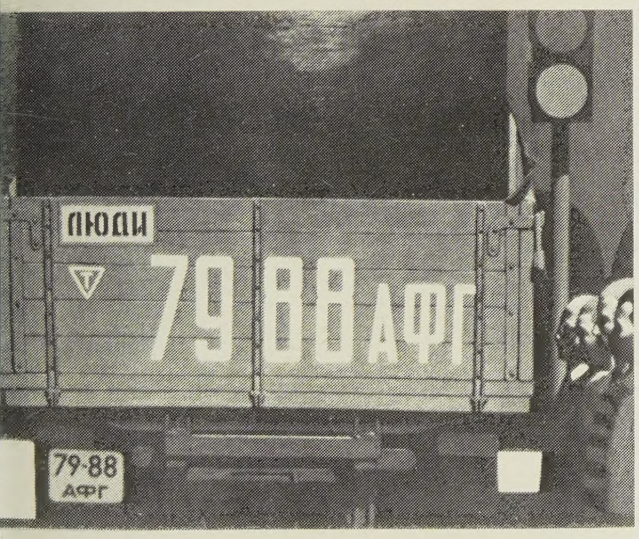
What are the Zaandam portraits? The painter's own copies, sketches or imitations by an apprentice?

Only an expert analysis can answer this question.

It is not just when we pull down monuments that we lose our historic heritage. Very often high-flown words about the barbarism of the past replace genuine concern for the urgent needs of our museum. Indignation is much easier than digging out the dramatic facts of the past, gradually reconstructing history, establishing contacts with other museums and exchanging information, exhibits and scholarly surveys. We could hand over to the Zaandam museum copies of portraits of Peter's comrades-in-arms, engravings, maps and memoirs, so that the Great Reformer's remarkable life is not a mere tourist attraction. We could also make copies of the Zaandam portraits and display them in Peter's House in Leningrad, telling visitors the story of the tsar's gift to an unknown Dutchman named Gerrit Kist...

Dmitry Tsvetkov.
"Accordeon Player"

Natalia Yemelyanova.
"Dead of night"



Igor Sitnikov.
"Street Crossing"

V. Mirzoyev.
Fragment from the series "Expulsion from Paradise"

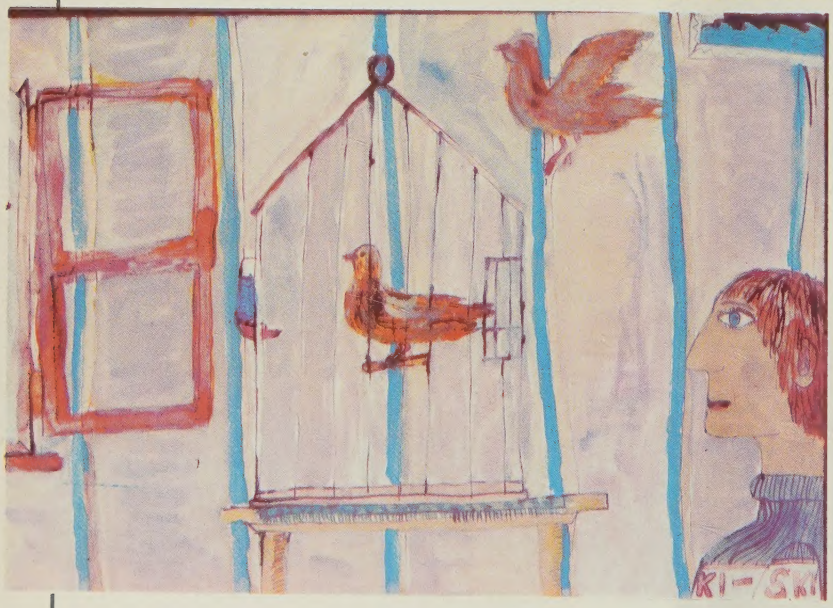
Moscow Central Exhibition Hall

The 18th Exhibition of Young Moscow Artists

My country in the year 2000

This is the name of an international competition for junior artists which the magazine Soviet Woman, that comes out in 15 different languages, has announced. Winners accompanied by either father or mother, will be invited to visit Moscow. Runners-up will get diplomas, books and souvenirs, and there will be a special prize for all drawings devoted to environmental protection.

The closing date for this competition, which boys and girls of only up to 15 years of age may enter, is March 15 next. Be sure to indicate on the back of your drawing its title, your name and surname and address in block letters. Don't forget to say whether you are a boy or a girl.



Send your entries to:
The Editors of Soviet Woman,
22 Kuznetsky Most,
Moscow K-31, U.S.S.R.
Zip code: 103764
Please print on the envelope: "For competition of junior artists."